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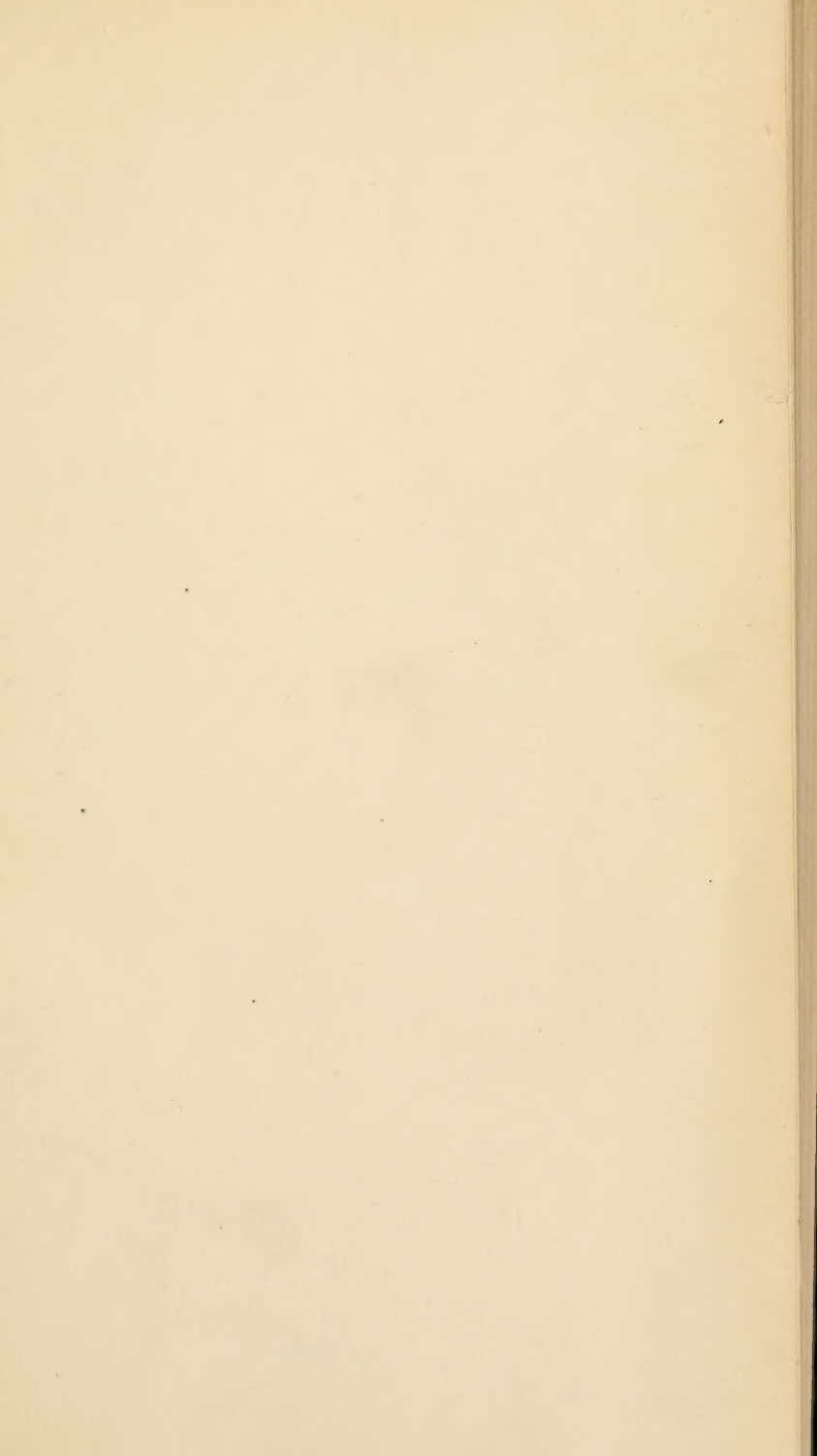
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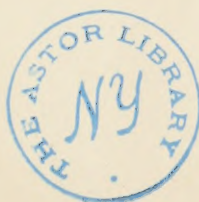


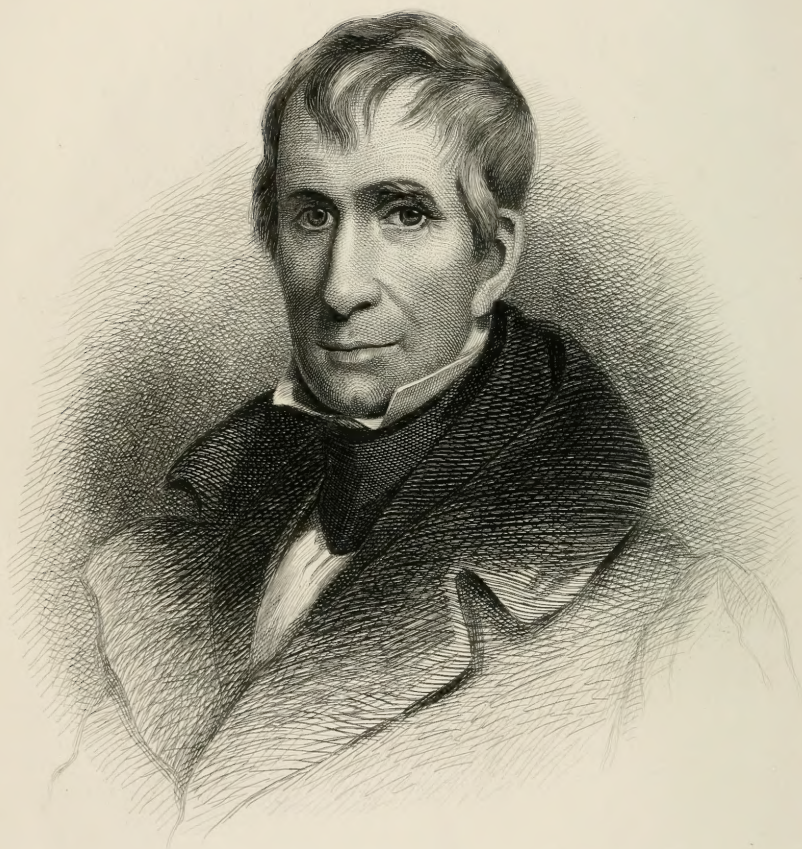


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*W. H. Harrison*



THE REPUBLIC;  
OR,  
A HISTORY  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
IN  
THE ADMINISTRATIONS,

FROM THE MONARCHIC COLONIAL DAYS  
TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY  
JOHN ROBERT IRELAN, M. D.

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IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

Volume IX.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE, ADMINISTRATION,  
AND TIMES  
OF  
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,  
*Ninth President of the United States.*

---

Indian Wars and Growth of the West,  
AND  
Second War with Great Britain.

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BY  
JOHN ROBERT IRELAN, M. D.

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1888.

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# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

THE HARRISONS . . . . .	9
-------------------------	---

## CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON—EDUCATION—ABANDONS A PROFESSION UNSUITED TO HIS TASTES—RECEIVES A COMMISSION IN THE ARMY, AND ARRIVES IN CINCIN- NATI—THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY . . .	25
---	----

## CHAPTER III.

INDIAN WARFARE ON THE OHIO — DESPERATE STRUGGLE OF THE ORIGINAL OWNERS OF THE SOIL TO HOLD THEIR GOD-GIVEN INHERITANCE . . . . .	43
--	----

## CHAPTER IV.

WAYNE'S WAR—BATTLE OF THE FALLEN TIMBERS— VERGE OF WAR WITH ENGLAND . . . . .	70
--	----

## CHAPTER V.

INDIAN ORATORS—WAYNE'S TREATY—HARRISON AT FORT WASHINGTON—BEGINS HIS POLITICAL CAREER—SEC- RETARY OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—DEL- EGATE IN CONGRESS—ARTHUR ST. CLAIR—THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF INDIANA . . . . .	88
--	----

## CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF INDIANA—SLAVERY IN THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—THE GOVERNOR AND THE INDIANS AT FORT WAYNE—HARRISON'S TEM- PERANCE SPEECH—INDIAN CRUSADERS . . . . .	106
--	-----

## CHAPTER VII.

	PAGE.
TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT OF INDIANA — GOVERNOR HARRISON'S SPEECH TO THE FIRST LEGISLATURE — THE INDIAN — PREPARATION FOR WAR — TECUMSEH — OLLI- WACHICA . . . . .	130

## CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST LEGISLATURE OF INDIANA — HARRISON AND TECUM- SEH — THE PROPHET AND A CONFEDERACY . . . .	148
---	-----

## CHAPTER IX.

SIGNS OF WAR ON THE WABASH — THE SHAWNEE AND HIS PURPOSES — AN INHERITANCE FROM THE GREAT SPIRIT TO BE MAINTAINED . . . . .	168
---	-----

## CHAPTER X.

INDIAN WAR — GOVERNOR HARRISON AND THE PROPHET AT TIPPECANOE . . . . .	187
---	-----

## CHAPTER XI.

THE HONORS OF TIPPECANOE — TECUMSEH — WHAT WAS HE? — GOVERNOR HARRISON'S MILITARY FORTUNES	210
---	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

A MAJOR-GENERAL OF KENTUCKY MILITIA — HARRISON AND WINCHESTER — DOWNFALL OF WILLIAM HULL — HIS SERVICES AND CHARACTER . . . . .	229
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMMANDER OF ALL THE WESTERN TROOPS — HIS MILITARY ARDOR CAN NOT REMOVE MOUNTAINS — THE PROPHET'S TOWN GOES DOWN FOREVER — HARRISON ON THE MARCH TO CANADA . . . . .	247
---	-----



CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE.

TROUBLES OF THE CAMPAIGN—END OF HARRISON'S EXTRAORDINARY POWERS IN INDIANA—THE RIVER RAISIN . . . . .	261
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

HARRISON AND GREEN CLAY—FORT MEIGS—DEFEAT OF COLONEL DUDLEY—TECUMSEH AND PROCTOR . . .	282
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INDIANS—THE WESTERN ARMY ON THE WAY TO CANADA—PERRY ON THE LAKE—A WONDERFUL NAVAL VICTORY . . . . .	293
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

HARRISON IN CANADA—BATTLE OF THE THAMES—DEATH OF TECUMSEH—END OF THE INDIAN CONFEDERACY . . .	315
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

HARRISON ENDS HIS MILITARY CAREER—HIS SERVICES—OPINIONS—COURSE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR . . .	338
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

HARRISON AND WINCHESTER—CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—THE STATE SENATE—A GOLD MEDAL—A RABID OFFICE-HUNTER . . . . .	359
---	-----

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL HARRISON'S SOUTH AMERICAN MISSION—JACKSON'S HAND IN THE CASE—A GOOD FARMER—CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT—CAMPAIGN OF 1836 . . .	380
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

PAGE.

CONVENTIONS—PRESIDENTIAL RACE—THE LOG-CABIN AND HARD-CIDER CAMPAIGN—MARTIN VAN BUREN AND OLD TIPPECANOE . . . . .	405
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXII.

THE LOG-CABIN CAMPAIGN—THE ELECTION—EXTRAOR- DINARY CEREMONIES—PRESIDENT HARRISON'S INAUG- URAL ADDRESS . . . . .	437
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXIII.

STARTING OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—SAD END TO A GOOD BEGINNING—DEATH IN THE WHITE HOUSE— MORAL, RELIGIOUS, MILITARY, AND PUBLIC CHARAC- TER OF GENERAL HARRISON—HIS PRESIDENCY . . .	469
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LIFE, ADMINISTRATION, AND TIMES  
OF  
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,  
NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 4 to April 4, 1841.

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CHAPTER I.

THE HARRISONS.

THE vast North-western Territory has produced few more admirable characters than that of the "Hero of Tippecanoe." He was, in an eminent sense, a representative of the West. He had aided in rescuing it from the savage, and had been identified widely in many of the important steps and scenes in its growth. His dress, speech, manners, and culture were peculiar to the West at that day, and the great mass of the people of his region valued him highly as a man, and took pride in his plain and unpretending life and character. The history of his family presents a rare instance of respectable successions, and with that of the Adamses and a few others, still controverts the wide-spread belief that the families of worthily distinguished men are short-lived.

Virginia has produced few more honorable names than that of Harrison. Early in the history of that State the Harrisons are found among her first citizens, first in sterling worth, and the support of public virtue.

About 1660, one of the descendants of that follower of Cromwell, who was executed after the "Restoration" for the principles he had upheld, settled in Surrey County, Virginia. Of this American progenitor of the Virginia Harrisons, little or nothing is now known. And, indeed, little has been left concerning his son, Benjamin, the next representative of the family, who was born in Surrey County, about 1665. It has been written of him that "he did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with God; was loyal to his prince, and a great benefactor of his country." This is certainly a description of a good man, whether this quaint, strained, old-time phraseology can be taken with entire confidence in this instance or not. There are no records of events connected with his life, nor, in his day when the few officers of the "Crown" were appointed by royal favor, could his opportunities for public distinction have been great, not even as a benefactor to his country.

He left two sons, Henry and Benjamin. The latter was a lawyer and a politician of some distinction, and at the time of his death was Speaker of the House of Burgesses. This family belonged to the race of Virginia land-kings, and this lawyer, Benjamin, greatly increased the estate of his family. He

settled on the opposite side of the James River, in Charles City County, and called his seat Berkeley. Henry, the other son, filled some public posts in his county, being at one time judge of the court; facts at that day significative of intelligence, ability, and virtue. Public position at the present time does not, unfortunately, indicate necessarily the possession of these qualities, however much may have been the aggregate development and increase of human virtue and wisdom with the progress of time. Henry was, perhaps, a more admirable man than his more distinguished brother, and although the Latin inscription on his tomb was not so long and pompous, it is said, in the peculiar language of the times, that his heir considered himself a great loser by his father's death, notwithstanding the large estate which fell to him under the unjust laws of primogeniture. Henry had the uncommon virtue among men of being universally kind to his relatives, if it really is a virtue to be kinder to this class of people than to others.

Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, and his wife, Elizabeth Burwell, left a son, Benjamin, and a daughter. This son, who married Miss Carter, a daughter of the "Crown" land surveyor, was, with two of his own daughters, killed by lightning at Berkeley. He left behind him, however, six sons and two daughters. The daughters married Peyton and William Randolph, and thus connected their own with another of the most respectable historic families of the "Old Dominion."

The eldest brother of these women was the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and father of President William Henry Harrison.

Benjamin Harrison, the signer, was born about 1730. He began a collegiate education at William and Mary College, but about the time of the death of his father, owing to a quarrel with one of the teachers in that institution, he did not further continue his studies. He assumed the management of the estate, and, as head of the family, at a very early age, took the public place which his father had filled. When his age would admit he was elected to the House of Burgesses, and was continually re-elected. He soon made himself felt as one of the leaders of that body; but, more from his wealth and extended influential relationships by the intermarriage of his family with other considerable families, and his natural good sense and independence of character, than from any brilliancy of his traits. In 1764 and 1765 he took a decided stand in opposition to the Stamp Act and other supposed aggressive and intolerable measures of the British Crown toward the American Colonies, and thereby ignored his opportunities for royal favoritism. With the other bold spirits of Virginia, he advocated the general sentiment of Colonial resistance; and was one of the delegates appointed at Williamsburg to the Congress to meet in Philadelphia in 1774. The Congress met in September of that year, and Harrison's brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, was made its first chairman. Harrison took little part in the debates of the



Congress. In the following March the second Virginia Convention was held, this time at Richmond. Mr. Harrison was a delegate to it, and although opposed to taking any steps at that time to organize a military force, he was placed upon the committee for that purpose, and also was again appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress. Harrison was a great favorite in the Congress, as well from his good sense and good humor as from his almost unbounded hospitality. He first distinguished himself in that body by taking John Hancock in his arms and seating him in the presidential chair, to which he had been elected instead of Peyton Randolph. It is said that after Harrison performed this feat, he exclaimed: "We will show Mother Britain how little we care for her, by making a Massachusetts man our president, whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation." In August, soon after the Congress adjourned, Mr. Harrison was again elected, and in September took his seat for the third time in that body. He now took an active part in the organization of the army, and as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Matters. He was connected with nearly all the measures for establishing and maintaining the army, and also for organizing the navy, and finally when the Board of War was formed he was made a member of that, and afterwards served as its chairman. He had the honor, on the 10th of June, of introducing the resolution of the committee declaring the independence of the Colonies, and on the 4th of July, 1776, he

reported the Declaration as accepted by the Congress. Instead of returning him to the Congress in the Fall of 1776, he was made a member of the Executive Council in the organization of the new State government; but on the resignation of Thomas Jefferson, he was elected to fill his place, and again in November, 1776, took his seat in the Congress. He was again placed in the War Board and in the committees he had formerly occupied. In 1777, the Legislature of his State again elected him to the Congress. In the fall of that year, however, he resigned, and returned to Virginia. He had been a very active and useful member of the old Continental Congress, few men in that distinguished body having been more influential in putting forward its great measures, or in devising the ways of rendering them beneficial to the country. Soon after returning home in 1777, he was elected to the Legislature of his own State, where he served most of the time as Speaker of the House, until 1782. In that year he became Governor of the State, and was re-elected, holding the office until November 29, 1784, the full time allowed by the constitution. He was one of the most popular, as well as one of the best, of Virginia's governors. He was now run by the people of Charles City County, for the Legislature, but was defeated by John Tyler, Sen., father of President Tyler, and, as he believed, by one of the tricks, as well known then as now, in the politics of the country. But, however well founded his belief in this case was, Harrison's Revolutionary blood was

up, and crossing the river into Surrey, he was there elected almost without opposition, with his son, Carter B. Harrison, as a delegate from that county. He was now again elected Speaker of the House, but by a small majority. There was also some question raised as to the legality of his election from Surrey, but this was settled, perhaps, more on his public services and general character than on the merits of the case. The next year he was defeated in Surrey, but was subsequently restored to his former standing in Charles City County, and returned to the Legislature. He was again chosen Speaker, and continued to hold the position to the end of his life. He had for many years been lieutenant and chief magistrate of his own county. He was a member of the State convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788, and was one of the large minority that opposed its adoption without the guarantee of certain amendments. Still he was in favor of the Union, and threw his influence against the factionists who made a desperate effort in opposition to the course of the majority. In 1790 he was again brought forward in the Legislature for governor against Beverly Randolph, who was then governor. This step of his friends was against his will, and he not only opposed it himself, but induced his son, Carter, a member of the Legislature, to vote against him. In this way he secured Randolph's retention in the office for the constitutional term of three years. Soon afterwards he was again unanimously elected to the Legislature from his own

county, and at the close of Randolph's term, it had been decided again to make him governor. But in April, 1791, he became ill and died.

Mr. Harrison was what is called a "high liver." That is, he was a great eater and drinker. And from a man of average height and fine muscular build, he finally became fat, red-faced, and coarse. This, he said himself, was brought on by French wine. He died of gout, and complicated disorders of the alimentary apparatus. He was not a brilliant man, by any means, nor was he always on the right side of questions. He had great pride of State, and it was not always easy for him to keep himself up to a really patriotic standard on questions that affected the whole country. But in this he, perhaps, succeeded much better than most men at that and even a later day, if the truth were told. He was quite wealthy, and used his means with considerable liberality. His wealth was mainly inherited, however, most of his own speculations not proving successful. Like the other rich planters of his day, he traded directly with England, and for this purpose even built his own sea-going ships. But these operations were so unsatisfactory and so reduced his fortune that he concluded his failure was owing to his ignorance of mercantile affairs. In order to have one member of his family skilled in the science of business, he sent his son Benjamin to Philadelphia to learn of really successful men, one of whom was Robert Morris. This Ben was expected to restore the lost fortunes of Berkeley. This, indeed, he was

likely to do. To complete his education for this end, he went over to Europe and while there formed some mercantile connections. The War of the Revolution diverted him from his purposes for a time, and during much of that period he served as a quartermaster in the army. He subsequently settled in Richmond as a merchant of some kind, and showed by his success that there was, as his father suspected, something in being thoroughly educated as a "business" man. But he died in 1799, without the opportunity for fully testing his father's wise theory.

This world is to a great extent filled with quackery of one kind or another, yet it is mainly supposed to belong to a few of the professions called learned, and especially to that of medicine. But this is a woeful mistake. That vast, almost indefinable, field called *business*, in its thousand branches, is the great seat of quackery. Ignorance and rascality are the foundations of quackery, and they are found blooming in all their sweetness and perfection among small traders and great ones, in the factory and the field, in the parlor and on the stage; in fact, wherever man is found in a strife for life or fortune, or in the attempt to put the "best foot forward."

No popular man is likely to be a great man, especially in his own country. No great men have even been popular among their own people, until their virtues made them so after death. The thing termed popularity is attached to men in active life, who are endowed with certain qualities, and those,



to a great extent, at the sacrifice of the real traits of greatness.

Governor Benjamin Harrison was a popular man, and in that respect, no doubt, stood before all the governors of Virginia to this day. He had in him the true elements of popularity, and freely lived them out. On his way to the Continental Congress he would stop to lecture young men in the greatest good-humor on the wickedness of Great Britain, and the necessity of their turning out to fight in maintaining the righteous cause of America, and would never fail to drink with them to their satisfaction; at Philadelphia, and wherever the Congress was compelled to go by the unfriendly conduct of the Red Coats, he dispensed his good natured "conviviality," his "generous hospitality." His easy-going ways and open-handed conduct caused men to take to him kindly, and this disposition made him a good man to put forward, and gave him privileges; his wealth gave him dignity, and his good sense kept him from forgetting himself; he was really too noble to be guilty of public wrong-doing, and his social habits were held in the bounds of what was deemed tolerable for a popular man of his day; his generous and "good-fellow" qualities, as well as his good sense and useful practical tendencies, made him popular as governor and as Speaker of the House; men were always feeling his presence somehow as they most desired to, and hence they were always putting him forward; and he was always able not to disappoint them in dignity or



ability ; even the last day of his life was one of his "generously hospitable" days, when many of his friends and neighbors gathered at Berkeley to eat and drink and make merry with him. That night, when the servant brought him "medicine" he had ordered to be mixed for him, he said to her that he would soon be a dead man, and the next day he died. Of such men the world has always said with thoughtless complacency : "Ah! he was a noble man! he was a fine fellow!" And, perhaps, all the world, "good-fellows," wise people, and all, may properly enough continue to think that of Benjamin Harrison. On paper, his great or most fortunate deed was in the connection of his name with the Declaration of Independence, an achievement still ranked as first in the noble events in the history of the continent. Aside from the part he took in general political affairs, few of Virginia's distinguished men lived more in the hearts of their neighbors, by their daily conduct, than did Ben Harrison, the Signer.

His wife died in 1792. While having all or most of his really admirable qualities, she was noted for her piety. Her name was Elizabeth Bassett, and she was some way related to Martha Washington. Her father, William Bassett, was a man of some consequence in New Kent County. They left seven children, three sons and four daughters, and several other children died in infancy. The daughters married into "first families."

One of the sons, Benjamin, who by the great

good sense of his father, was professionally educated for a "business" man, the only way in which success may ever be relied upon in any pursuit, and who has been mentioned, left a son, Benjamin. The second son, Carter Bassett, was an educated lawyer. He was a long time a member of the Legislature of his State, and also served in Congress, and was a man of respectable ability, and, like his father, highly esteemed by his countrymen. He died in 1804, and left two sons. The third son was William Henry Harrison.

It is deemed proper to close this chapter with the following extract from an interesting letter, signed "Pickaway," in the "Cincinnati Enquirer," met with since the foregoing pages were written:—

"THOMAS HARRISON, THE REGICIDE.

"The books say it was 'John Harrison, the Regicide.' It was Thomas. The confusion arises from the fact that in transcribing the death-warrant of Charles I, a T was converted into a 'J,' in the old-style writing there being a great resemblance in these letters. The records of Parliament, except in a single instance, never mention 'J.' Harrison, but T. Harrison figures conspicuously for twenty years. This Harrison was the parent stem of the American Harrisons. He exhibited those courageous but conservative traits, and that same talent for governmental affairs; the same taste for law and war that has distinguished three generations of Harrisons in America. Talented, but not a genius. Reliable, steady, safe, but never dazzling nor brilliant. Cold and selfish, but the soul of honor, and a slave to duty, fearing nothing but wrong, and despising nothing so much as the mob's

opinion. These are the family characteristics that you may trace through three centuries, whenever a Harrison breaks into history.

“In a pamphlet published in March, 1659, after General Monk had dissolved the Rump and ordered an election for a new Parliament, appears the following notice of Thomas Harrison:—

“‘Thomas Harrison, a man of very mean birth, being the son of a butcher in or near Newcastle-under-Tyne. He was a servant to Mr. Hulk, an attorney-at-law; but preferring war before peace, got into the army, and having the knack of canting, was believed to be a person of surpassing piety, and so insinuated himself from one command to another until he became Major-General of Wales. Being dangerously anabaptical in his tenets, and a perfect hater of orthodox divines, and a devourer of their maintenances, he was very lately a preacher, and, indeed, head of a re-baptized congregation in London. He was clearly against monarchy, not only sitting a malicious judge against his majesty, but he was one of those five who appointed the time and place for the king’s execution.’

“This remarkable paper was written by an adherent of the Stuarts. It was published on the eve of the creation of the new Parliament, when it was evident to the country that Charles II would be recalled. It contained a list of five hundred and sixteen names of men who had been connected with the Long Parliament and Cromwell’s government. The object of the publication was to prevent the election to Parliament of the men named. In this long list Thomas Harrison is one of the very few who is not openly charged with enriching himself at the public expense! Notwithstanding this attack, Harrison was one of the members returned from Kingston-upon-Hull. For a butcher’s boy and a lawyer’s clerk, Thomas Harrison cuts quite a figure in English history for twelve years. Dana,

in the *Encyclopedia*, falls into the common error of calling him John. When the obscure Oliver Cromwell rose to prominence in the Long Parliament, Harrison was one of his associates. Through Cromwell's public life he shared in all his counsels and triumphs, and was last at his tomb in the Abbey, when the £30,000 funeral was over and Harrison left the body, which was to be dragged hence in a few short weeks by the hangman and hung to dry in its gorgeous grave-clothes in sight of London town. The Republicans made war on live kings. The Stuarts made war on dead Republican heroes.

"In 1647 Harrison was colonel in the Parliament army. He escorted Charles from London to Windsor Castle, and from Windsor Castle to death at Whitehall, on January 31st. The timid and distracted Charles told Harrison that he feared he had been sent to assassinate him. Harrison calmed his fears by assuring him that he would have an opportunity to die like a man, and that while he was under his care he would not be stabbed in the dark. When the Council of State was chosen after Charles's death, Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, and Harrison were rejected by the House of Commons. He was a candidate several times afterward for the same place, but was never chosen. After Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, Harrison was made a major-general, and the Commons instructed 'the Council of State to send him wherever the public good required.' The threatened invasion from Scotland called Cromwell to England. Lord Fairfax refused to command the army against Scotland because he did not deem the war with Scotland justifiable. A committee of five, Cromwell and Harrison being of the number, was appointed to wait on Fairfax and learn his reasons. This conference is the first interview published in English history. During the Scotch campaign General Harrison commanded Cromwell's horse, which numbered four thousand. A report to

Parliament shows that of nine thousand Scotch prisoners taken at Dunbar, only six hundred survived in good health three months later. The officer very quaintly says: 'The prisoners *fasted* eight days on the march, but were well cared for.'

"In June, 1651, General Harrison preferred charges in Parliament against Lord Howard, the member from the city of Carlisle, for taking as a bribe a diamond hat-band valued at £800. Lord Howard had a lady admirer, the Countess of Rutland. They quarreled, and feeling that she had been wronged, she avenged herself by sending her servant to General Harrison, whose hatred of public thieves she knew well. The *Register* says: 'General Harrison, being a man of severe principles and zealous for justice, especially against such as betrayed the public trust reposed in them, openly charged Howard of bribery; a committee was appointed, and the charges sustained. Howard, on his bended knees, in presence of the House, was expelled from Parliament, forever prevented from holding an office of trust, sentenced to pay a fine of £10,000, and committed to the Tower. Nine years later Howard's son sat in Parliament, and voted for the bill of attainder and oblivion that sent Harrison to the gallows and his children to Virginia! Lord Howard, by some intrigue, escaped both the fine and imprisonment. A fellow named Windy Oxford, one of Howard's tools, perjured himself as a witness in the case, and was pilloried, imprisoned at Newgate, and then banished the kingdom.'

"It was on Harrison's advice that Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, after it had been in continuous session for over fifteen years. After Cromwell's death, Richard, his son, abandoned his father's friend and counselor, and during General Monk's intrigues General Harrison sinks from view. He took his seat with William Penn, a Quaker Royalist, in the new Parliament in 1660, although he knew the Stuarts would reign again in the



person of the Second Charles. He was in the House when the bill came up and the list was presented, marking him for death. Many spoke in their own defense, pleaded for mercy, or fled the country. He maintained an honorable silence, and remained at his post of duty. He was taken from the House to the Tower, and from the Tower to death, with eight of his associates. His family being outlawed and impoverished, turned their faces to that new asylum of hope for the persecuted—America.

“A century after the death of Thomas, the blood of the martyr found a voice in a son three generations removed. Benjamin Harrison was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates. He was one of the ablest and foremost agitators in the Colonies, and next to Patrick Henry a bold and outspoken advocate of the rights of the Colonists against the oppressions of the British kings. He sat in Independence Hall, July 4, 1776, as a delegate from Virginia, with Thomas Jefferson, and signed the Declaration of American Independence, a second death-warrant to kingly supremacy, for which he has never been called to account, except to receive the blessings of millions of people. During the agitation that preceded the first Continental Congress, the Royal Governor of Virginia attempted to bribe Harrison with a place in his Council, but he scornfully rejected the proposal.”

## CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON—EDUCATION—ABANDONS A PROFESSION UNSUITED TO HIS TASTES—RECEIVES A COMMISSION IN THE ARMY, AND ARRIVES AT CINCINNATI—THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY.

**W**ILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, third son of Benjamin Harrison, was born at "Berkeley," on the James River, in Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773.

After a preparatory course of instruction under private teachers, young Harrison was, in his fourteenth year, sent to Hampden and Sidney College, where he remained but little more than a year. He was then put into a school, called an Academy, in Southampton County, here continuing with success until in his seventeenth year. He was designed by his father for the medical profession, and like many another boy, unfortunately and unwisely provided for in the same way, without having his own tastes, inclinations, and qualifications consulted, took little interest in the selection and the prospects before him. His father, although a man of admirable traits generally, and possessing great openness and strength of character, was not endowed with great energy. This trait the son exhibited in his school-days, and at times in his after life. A boy of chivalrous



and somewhat utopian notions, he made no distinguished mark at school. In keeping with his peculiar bent of mind were the comparatively worthless old classics of Rome and Greece. In the Latin language, especially, he took an interest, and this taste he kept up throughout his life. He never became exact scholar enough to see and know the impropriety of exhibiting this taste in his public speeches. Of the fabulous history of Greece and Rome he was very fond, and he was seldom known to make an address without bringing in some flourish of this doubtful old lore. It was "oratory." Unfortunately this remained much of the stock in oratory of the school-boy to a much later date than General Harrison's academic days. "If I should fall below Demosthenes and Cicero, don't view me with a critic's eye," was in the mouth of every pretentious or manly little boy long after 1790; and the more pompous constructions from this dim, far-off field were always as precious morsels in Harrison's mouth. But by no means has this taste for display amidst the old so-called classic grounds died out. Only a few years ago a great American preacher, in the most sublime outburst that ever fell from his tongue perhaps, said :—

"It took Rome three hundred years to die; and our death, if we perish, will be as much more terrific as our intelligence and free institutions have given us more bone, sinew, and vitality. May God hide from me the day when the dying agonies of my country shall begin! O, thou beloved land, bound together by the ties of

brotherhood, and common interest, and perils! live forever, one and undivided!"

A less objectionable connection of us with the barbaric civilization of Southern Europe it would not be easy to find in modern declamation.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson seemed to rely on Rome and Greece to illustrate and verify their scholarship. And Mr. Adams appeared to think he could not find arguments enough to sustain his republican friends in America in their efforts to establish a constitutional republic without ransacking these diabolical heathendoms for examples. Even James Monroe could not write some dry reflections on government in his attempt to prove the people the only sovereigns, without resorting to this mythologic Rome and Greece. General Harrison was of a temperament peculiarly fitted to this kind of display. His scholarship was not deep; and yet while he was not a greatly learned, he was certainly a very intelligent, man, and in this respect, as well as in his general habits and character, was the best possible type of the people he represented and the age in which he lived.

Leaving school with a good education he began the study of medicine in the office of Dr. Leiber, at Richmond, in his native State. Early in 1791, however, he was sent to Philadelphia to complete preparations for his profession under Benjamin Rush, an old Revolutionary friend of his father's, and, perhaps, the first, certainly one of the first, physicians in America at that time. But, while on his way to

Philadelphia, his father died suddenly, and this unexpected event changed the current of his life, a current by no means running in an agreeable channel to him. He went on to Philadelphia, where he was received with every attention by his father's friends, one of whom, the brave old Robert Morris, had been appointed his guardian. But he never renewed his medical studies. Rush, Morris, Wistar, and others urged him to carry out his father's designs in this particular, yet now feeling under no obligations to pursue a course always against his inclinations, he was glad to be released from it. Then, he had a plan of his own. The War of the Revolution had left a decidedly military spirit in the country. The foreign relations of the Government were by no means stable, and at this very time an Indian war was in progress in the West. This was a wide field for adventure, and presented the rarest opportunities for distinction and fortune. Harrison wanted to be a soldier, and had meditated on the chances of success in the West. Both his sympathy and patriotism were aroused, and the old fire of the English ancestors was stirred in him. Then, too, his patrimony was meager. His father had been preparing him to take care of himself, rather than providing him an easy ride through life on the result of his own efforts. The proper field opened before him, and he took it, although against the will of his father and the advice of friends. At such an age the wisdom of his choice becomes more marked if it be admitted that he looked beyond mere adventure,

which is somewhat questionable. This doubt would be justified first by his answer to John Cleves Symmes a few years afterward, when asked what his means of supporting a family were. His Spartan answer was, "My sword." This impracticable reply pleased old Symmes, who had the largest hole for romance in him of any man of his day, and he gave his daughter to Harrison on the strength of it.

The first thing to be done was the obtaining of a commission. But that was not a difficult matter. Philadelphia was too full of distinguished men who knew and valued the great-hearted Ben Harrison to allow his son to beg for such a reasonable gift. "Light-horse" Harry Lee, almost the child of Washington, was about the only one of his friends who favored his plans, and through him his application for a commission of ensign was placed before the first Secretary of War, Henry Knox. The commission was issued at once, and in November, 1791, a few days afterward, he was actually on his way to Cincinnati, the head-quarters of the army operating against the Indians. Although his start in life was favorable, his first experience must have tested the metal of so young a soldier, for he made the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh on foot. At Fort Washington, a part of the present site of Cincinnati, he joined the regiment to which he had been assigned.

The state of affairs in the North-western Territory was now sad and gloomy. The progress of settlements was slow. The population was sparse. North of the Ohio River especially there was constant

strife with the Indians. This, indeed, absorbed every other interest. The Government had recently made a more decided effort to bring these Indians under control, but without success. General Josiah Har-mar had recently destroyed some of the Miami villages, but had suffered two detachments of his men to be defeated, and his entire expedition had the effect of maddening and encouraging the savage foe, and rendering the condition of the white settlers more desperate.

At the close of this unsuccessful campaign President Washington urged Congress to raise an army sufficiently strong to cope with this enemy, and he himself placed at its head General Arthur St. Clair. This force rendezvoused at Cincinnati, and from this point St. Clair set out to execute his mission. But he was defeated with great loss in one of the most disastrous Indian battles ever fought in the country. Washington had confided this command to St. Clair, and in his last words had warned him against a surprise, against falling before Indian strategy. Few occurrences of Washington's Administration so affected him as this unfortunate affair under his own direction. The case was greatly exaggerated at first against St. Clair, but time softened this judgment, and to-day, perhaps, no stigma is attached to the name of the commanding general in the mention of St. Clair's Defeat.

St. Clair was finally released, to a great extent, from responsibility for the disaster, but he was not continued in command in the West, although he did



not lose his governorship. He had incautiously, but necessarily it appears, divided his force, when not suspecting the presence of the enemy, but had fought nobly when the conflict came, nor was he caught unprepared when the assault was made.

At this time Harrison arrived at Fort Washington, and, perhaps, nothing more than the very disasters the country was then deploring could have been more to his advantage. He had yearned for military fame, and the prospects for a chivalrous young soldier could not have been better. Instead of its being a barren, discouraging, and doubtful field to him, as has been claimed, it was certainly the very reverse. Still Harrison's road was not a flowery one, and in this he was not disappointed. He had not been reared to hardship, and his slender frame was felt by his friends to be barely equal to the dangers and difficulties of the case. His acquaintances and comrades at Fort Washington attempted to persuade him from undergoing a trial which they believed would be disastrous to him. But they were unaware of his true metal. At the very outset he exhibited the courage and confidence in his ability which subsequently distinguished him at every stage of his life. To turn back was no part of his creed, at any time, let alone entertaining a thought of it, before testing his chivalrous aspirations. He had the good fortune, not to say pleasure, of performing his first noteworthy act under the direction of General St. Clair. This was to command a company of twenty men as an escort for a train of pack

horses to Fort Hamilton. This was a perilous undertaking, but he performed it in such a manner as to receive the thanks of the general. This first step was greatly to his advantage, although the duty performed was much exaggerated by early writers touching Harrison's life, and especially political writers, and others fell into their tracks. Fort Hamilton was built or established in 1791, and stood on the west bank of the Big Miami River only a short day's march from Cincinnati. This temporary post gave name to the seat of Butler County, Ohio. Although the Red Skins were watching all the movements of the whites, and had been greatly emboldened by their recent wonderful successes, this trip was one which any bold young soldier would have been glad to make for the opportunity of a little camp glory.

As the life of General Harrison is largely identified with military and other events in the settlement and growth of a large tract of country, now forming several great States of the Nation, it may be of benefit to the general reader to have here a brief sketch of the people and condition of affairs at the time he appeared on the stage. The vast territory presided over by Governor Arthur St. Clair embraced, in 1791, all the country lying west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio River, extending to the Mississippi, and including the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and that part of Minnesota north and east of the Mississippi and Lake Itasca. It had been organized into a Territory



by the old Continental Congress in 1787, as "The Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio," and Arthur St. Clair, a member of that body, appointed its first governor. This Territory has been designated conveniently, "The Northwestern Territory." This great region was originally claimed by the French, but was always a source of jealousy between France and England, and finally led to the war of 1754, which resulted in not only the surrender of it, but also of all Canada, to Great Britain by the treaty of 1763. In the early settlement of North America by white people, the English had confined themselves to the Atlantic coast south of Nova Scotia. The French, beginning at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, had extended along that river and the great lakes and finally, through their explorers and faithful missionaries, penetrated the country to the Mississippi, and there planted the standard of Rome and Louis XIV; and in 1682 took possession of all the vast region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries

To a great part of this region there was now a double claim. Spain, early in the sixteenth century, had taken possession of Florida and extended her pretensions along the Gulf of Mexico, and nearly a hundred and fifty years before La Salle had reached the Gulf from Canada by the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, De Soto had made his way from Florida to the Mississippi. By these discoveries Spain set forth her right to all the country on both sides of the Mississippi for some distance up that stream, and

the whole country west of it to the Pacific Ocean. Soon after La Salle passed down the Mississippi in 1682, the French began to urge forward their efforts to colonize the country. Although they were, to a great extent, kindly and favorably received by the Indians, it was not long until they fell into wars with these people. The plan pursued by the French, on the whole, towards the Indians, led to more friendly relations, and, perhaps, to more mutual advantages than that taken by the English. Still the hostility of the heathens from time to time was the main obstacle in the way to the rapid spread of the French settlements. And beyond the region at the mouth of the Mississippi and the Canadas they never did make much progress. While they made great missionary pretensions, they brought whisky and other evils among the Indians, and by them were soon regarded as intruders. From the very start, the English and French colonists were unfriendly, and the latter, especially, in their dealings with the Indians, threw every obstacle in the way of their alliance with the Americans, as the people of the thirteen Colonies, and hence of the United States, have been called. The French brought the Catholic, and the English the Protestant religion, and a conflict at once began in their purposes which did not end even in the treaty of 1763, and the surrender of the greater part of their American claims; but was continued to the War of the Revolution, when the French Canadians adhered to the cause of England, to a

great extent, no doubt, owing to the recent favorable efforts and acts of the British king and Parliament to conciliate and favor the French settlers in their religion and citizenship, which had been made a source of offense and contention on the part of the Americans.

The long French and English war, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, had, to a degree, involved the Colonies, and did put a stop, mainly, to the progress of the settlements. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding Indian hostilities, the French began to extend their settlements with a view to establishing their claims to all the country west of the Alleghany Mountains. The adventurous became wanderers or traders among the friendly Indians, and a few permanent posts were formed, among which was Detroit. About 1712, Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, was made a French trading and mission post, and before this time some of the French had visited the Wabash. The colony had grown, somewhat, down in Louisiana, but in 1713, not more than four or five hundred French colonists were found in this vast region from the Gulf to Lake Michigan. In 1717, Louisiana was granted by the crown of France to a company called the Mississippi or Western Company, and New Orleans was made its center. In 1718, Fort Chartres was built above Kaskaskia; other points were now settled, and great efforts put forth to take possession of the country.

In 1744, France and England were again at war,

and the American Colonies, to some extent, involved. The peace made four years afterwards did not settle the causes of dispute between the Colonies of the two nations in America. The French held to all the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the English colonists were bent on sharing this region, and England herself held that her right extended indefinitely westward. Finally the attempts of the Americans to make settlements west of the mountains and of the French to prevent them brought on the war of 1754, which ended in the surrender of Canada and all the disputed territory to England.

Not until 1748, however, did the Americans make any systematic movements towards settling the lands west of the Alleghanies. In that year the "Ohio Company" was formed and composed of Virginians and Marylanders, and one or two London merchants, for the purpose of settling lands on the Ohio River. In the same year the authorities of Pennsylvania, at Lancaster, made the first friendly treaty with the Indians, from the far West, whose villages were on the Wabash. In the following year American traders began to cross the mountains to trade with the Indians. The French regarded all these movements as aggressions, and prepared to resist them. In 1753, Washington made his famous trip by order of Governor Dinwiddie to Logstown on the Ohio below the present site of Pittsburgh, and to the French forts on French Creek. In the following year Washington was sent over the mountains with his little force. But the French had preceded him, and in April of

that year finished and garrisoned Fort Du Quesne, at the head of the Ohio. And now the Americans and English began to feel great anxiety as to the spread of the French over the West, and the union of Canada and Louisiana. Their posts were quite numerous, being located on French Creek, at the head and mouth of the Ohio, mouth of the Wabash, Vincennes (St. Vincent), Kaskaskia, Chartres, St. Louis, mouth of the Missouri, Fox River, the Maumee, Sandusky, St. Joseph, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and several other points, taking usually the main seats of the Indians friendly to them.

In the fall of 1758, Fort Du Quesne fell into the hands of the English, when its name was changed to Fort Pitt. Afterwards, to please the vanity of Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, it was, for a time, called Fort Dunmore. In 1759, Quebec was captured by the English, and in the following year all the French posts in Canada and on the great lakes were surrendered to England. The preliminary treaty was not signed until the fall of 1762, and not definitely concluded until February 10, 1763. By this treaty France gave to England all her possessions on the north of the American Colonies, and everything they claimed, except New Orleans, on the east side of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth, the use of that river to be free to both nations. In 1762, France secretly ceded all her territory west of the Mississippi to Spain, but that country was not ready to take formal possession until 1769.

At the close of this war the tendency of the



British Government was to favor its newly acquired French subjects in their religion and in their disposition toward the American colonists, a course which suppressed, to a great extent, the exploring and settling of the country they had claimed, and also to incense the colonists against the mother country. The policy of the "home government" seemed in fact now to be to confine the English colonists at present to the east side of the Alleghanies. At this time England appeared exceedingly punctilious as to infringing the rights of the Indians, most of whom had characteristically come over to their side after the French failure and the Pontiac War. In the meantime Washington and others had crossed the mountains and located lands on the Ohio.

In 1774 the Parliament actually turned all the region north and west of the Ohio into the Province of Quebec, in its efforts to attach the French to England, and by various steps at this time, when the Revolution began the great mass of the French settlers did favor England as against the colonists. Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, Virginians, and North Carolinians had now made some progress in surveying the lands on the Ohio, and in 1774, Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, actually favored the disposition of the colonists to enter this forbidden country, showing that England had concluded to give up the whole territory to settlement, a thing she could not have prevented. Falling into difficulties with the Indians, Dunmore raised a small army to destroy, subdue, or drive them from the country. He himself

heading a force of a thousand men, marched from Fort Pitt, at the time called Fort Dunmore, to the mouth of the Hockhocking, and there built a fort. From this point he marched against the Shawnee towns on the Scioto. When within a few miles of the Scioto, several things induced Dunmore to lose his anger and change his policy, to favor peace with the Indians. He met the chiefs, and terms were satisfactorily arranged to conclude a great treaty in the spring of 1775, at Fort Pitt. But Lord Dunmore failed to carry out his part of the contract. A new authority, the people, had arisen in Virginia, and his services had been dispensed with. In 1775, Richard Henderson and a company of other men, purchased lands of the Indians south of the Ohio, and when war was begun with England the Congress established commissioners at Fort Pitt, and began treaties with all the Indians in the name of the Thirteen States. But the French settlers in the West, and the Indians, mainly, took the side of the English. On the Wabash and the Mississippi they, the Indians and French, lived in comparative quiet until 1778, the Congress doing all it could to strengthen the settlements on the Ohio and establish friendly relations with the natives. In 1777, some of the French inhabitants at Vincennes and other points took the oath to the British Government. Hamilton, the British Governor at Detroit, attempted to drive the Indians into a general destruction of the colonial settlers, and made arrangements to hold all the country to the Ohio River.



After the remarkable successes of General George Rogers Clark in the capture of Governor Hamilton and the breaking up of the power and influence of England on the Wabash and Mississippi, Virginia sent John Todd to establish the government and organize courts at Vincennes and Kaskaskia in 1779. Under the new establishments lands were granted to settlers and applicants with great liberality. This state of affairs continued until stopped by General Harmar in 1787.

On January 2, 1781, the Legislature of Virginia offered, on conditions, to relinquish her doubtful claim to the region northwest of the Ohio to the United States. Not until September 13, 1783, did the Congress pass an act to accept the grant. And in the following year the members of the Congress from Virginia drew up the deed of cession. One condition of this deed was that a tract of land, not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres granted to General Clark and his men, should be confirmed by the United States, and to be at the Falls of the Ohio on the north side of the Ohio. Steps were immediately taken by the Congress to put this vast territory under control. But many things stood in the way.

In the fall of 1785 Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, was built. Adventurers were now moving to the Ohio. The Spanish claimed both sides of the Mississippi and denied the right of this country to navigate that river, and Mr. Jay, the Secretary of the Congress, stipulated with the Span-

ish Minister a suspension of the question of navigation for twenty-five years. This treaty alarmed the people of Kentucky and other Western settlers, and caused great excitement. George Rogers Clark was sent to take possession of Vincennes, and measures were taken to proceed with a military force to the Mississippi and invade the Spanish territory. Virginia opposed this movement, and the Congress speedily made efforts to stop an unwarranted course, certain to throw the country into war with France and Spain.

Josiah Harmar was then in command of the Federal troops in this region, with his head-quarters at the mouth of the Muskingum, having been appointed at the time of organizing the North-western Territory, in 1787. The Old French claims to lands, as well as lands granted to the Ohio and Illinois Companies, about the beginning of the Revolution, now gave the Congress some annoyance. Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut also claimed a part of this vast territory from the Ohio to the lakes and the Mississippi, all claimed by Virginia. But by the year 1786 they had ceded these claims to the United States. Connecticut held a reservation in Ohio which took the name of Western Reserve (of Connecticut). But this, too, she gave up in 1800.

In 1787 a company composed of Rufus Putnam, Winthrop Sargeant, and others, calling themselves "The Ohio Company of Associates," purchased a large tract of land at the mouth of the Muskingum. John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, applied to

the Treasury Board of the Congress to purchase a million of acres on the north bank of the Ohio, extending from the Little to the Big Miami River. Mr. Symmes's proposition was accepted in October, 1787, but he being unable to comply with the terms of the purchase, in 1792 his claim was reduced to 311,682 acres, and a patent granted two years later. In this tract is now the city of Cincinnati.

On the 5th of October, 1787, Arthur St. Clair was appointed governor of the North-western Territory. In July, 1788, the first governor arrived at Marietta, and there began to organize the government of the vast, wild territory. In January, 1790, St. Clair went down the river to Fort Washington, where he laid out Hamilton County. In the same month he proceeded to the Falls of the Ohio, and to Vincennes and Kaskaskia. At this time a population of several thousand men, women, and children had gathered in various settlements and around the military posts of the Territory, but little improvement had been made owing to the hostility of the Indians.

## CHAPTER III.

INDIAN WARFARE ON THE OHIO—DESPERATE STRUGGLE  
OF THE ORIGINAL OWNERS OF THE SOIL TO HOLD  
THEIR GOD-GIVEN INHERITANCE.

AT the time the white race began to claim North America by the peculiar "right of discovery," the very heart of this region, lying north of the river Ohio and south of the great lakes, was owned and occupied by the Miami Indians, the Miami Confederacy. Of this ownership the brave Miami chief, Little Turtle, is represented as having said to General Wayne at Greenville in 1795:—

"General Wayne! I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and also the Pottawatomies of St. Joseph, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary-line between the Indians and the United States; but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished to hear you and my brothers, who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore at Muskingum concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present

that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his line to the head-waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawnees. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to find that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had not given them the same charge that was given to me; but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country, and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give you an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I had expected."

Little change had taken place in the territorial domain of these people for a century or two, and early in 1700 their villages extended from Detroit to the Ohio, along the river St. Joseph of Michigan, the Maumee and its branches, the Sandusky, the Wabash, the Miamis, and the Scioto. They had evidently been a strong body of people, but the days of their greatness were now numbered. In the wars with the whites, and the great conflicts waged with other Indian nations, they rapidly faded away.



Among their inveterate enemies were the Iroquois, or Five Nations. These Indians were long the enemies of the French, too. But as to the two antagonistic white nations, English and French, who were, by just and unjust means, striving for the mastery of the New World, the friendships of most of the aboriginal tribes and nations were variable and unreliable. The Five Nations were a warlike Confederacy, composed of the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Oneidas. Early in the eighteenth century they were joined by the Tuscaroras, who were pushed out of North Carolina by the advance of civilization. This confederacy was then known as the Six Nations. Although they could muster less than three thousand warriors, perhaps, many of their leaders were remarkable men. And now looking back over the history of these fearless, rude, yet often wise, seldom unjust, and physically kingly, people of the Six Nations, it is difficult to reflect that their fate was all that it should have been.

The Miamis were much less powerful, and in 1760 did not number greatly more than a thousand warriors, nearly equally divided among four tribes, the Miami proper, the Shockey, the Piankeshaws, and Oniatenon or Wea. In the North-western Territory were also the Sac and Fox Indians, the Winnebagoes, the Menomonees, the Ottawas, the Ojibwas, some branches of the Pottawatomies, the Delawares, the Kickapoos, the Shawnees, and Illinois. South of the Ohio, on the Mississippi, the

French found more than their match for a time in the Chickasaws, who not only disputed their advance up that river, but in 1736 they met the French in a pitched battle and defeated them. In this engagement among the fallen was Vincennes (Francis Morgan de Vincennes), a French royal officer.

In 1748, Pennsylvania made a treaty with some of the Miamis, through their representatives; and at that time these and the Six Nations were about all the Indians of the northwest in treaty relations with the English and their American Colonists. On the other hand, the French had friendly treaties with nearly all the Indians of this region and Canada. Those they had failed to conquer, as the Chickasaws, they had gained to them by presents and flattery. The French missionaries had traveled over every part of the territory, and their traders and vagabonds had married Indians. And in every way they could they had ingratiated themselves, and become identified with the Indians. Wherever the Frenchman went, whether he was priest, trader, explorer, or vagabond, he carried with him the symbol of his Church. By this means he hoped to secure safety, if not certain favor. A mean and contemptible fact it is that many of the most villainous pretensions of men have been set forth under the beneficent banner of the Cross. The British Parliament, seeing the progress of the French Jesuit in America, declared in favor of "converting the savage;" and the English-American colonists considered it incumbent upon them to engage in the great work of undoing



what the French were doing, and turning all these clean and lovely red men into vigorous Protestants. Their efforts, until after the Revolution, were, however, mainly confined to the east side of the Alleghanies. When these two Christian nations met, their spirit and purposes did not harmonize. The two ways in which they were traveling became readily apparent to the discerning savage, without his being at all able to appreciate the beneficial distinctions to himself. Besides the territorial question, the religious one was the greatest source of the fatal quarrel between these two nations.

The American Indian never did take with any constitutional activity either to civilization or Christianity; and when it came to dividing the road for him to travel to the latter in animosity and war, he lost his interest and confidence, if he ever had any, as more pretentious reasoners often have done. It did not appear in practice more than their own, the way of peace on earth and good-will to men. When at last the great struggle at arms came in 1754, which mainly ended the French authority in North America, and transferred the undivided interests of the savage and his country to England, the French received from their Indian friends and relatives the best possible assistance to be expected from such a source, although it was often obtained by the hardest efforts and at the risk of an ever-lurking tendency to treachery. But, however it came, the French soldier and priest never rejected the aid of the Indian, or the kind of warfare in which he delighted. Although

the Indians pretended to be satisfied with the change of masters, or "Fathers," they were really little less content with the result of the long war of 1754 than were the French themselves. Nor did they give it up without a final desperate struggle on their part.

Pontiac's War was the most strangely interesting of all the phases of this bloody French and Indian War. Pontiac was an Ottawa, and now for the first time came into history. He had been taught by the French to hate the English, and he was faithful to his teachings. He was the friend of the French, and was unwilling that the British should take their place with the Indians. He had stood by the French, who he believed would ever be, as they certainly had been, better friends of his people than the English, until he saw them humbled and their territory stripped from them, and now he was unwilling to submit quietly without making a blow himself.

After the Pontiac War between the Indians and the whites, comparative peace reigned north of the Ohio for several years. In 1774 hostilities again began, and this time the whites were the aggressors. For some time the conditions for an outbreak had been increasing. The white explorers and adventurers had excited the apprehensions and hatred of the Indians. In this year a company of explorers, headed by Michael Cresap, near Wheeling, Virginia, killed two Indians, and not satisfied with this, without provocation, save rumors of robberies attributed with no proof to the Indians, he and his men fell

upon a small body of red people at the mouth of Grave Creek, on the Ohio, below Wheeling, and indiscriminately put many to death. Among these were the relatives of Logan, a brave and friendly chief of the Mingoes or Cayugas. Soon after this Daniel Greathouse treacherously murdered a dozen or more Indians on the Ohio, forty miles above Wheeling. And although Pennsylvania disowned and censured the acts of these men, their conduct led the Delaware, Mingo, and Shawnee Indians to break into a war of revenge upon the frontier settlements.

Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, undertook to punish these Indians, and for that purpose two forces were raised, one commanded by himself and the other by Colonel Andrew Lewis. In the meantime, however, Major Angus McDonald, with four hundred men, crossed the Ohio and marched through the wilderness to the Muskingum River, where, after killing a few Indians and destroying several of their villages, he returned to Wheeling. On the 10th of October, 1774, Lewis, with his force of about eleven hundred men, met the Indians at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where was fought a hard, drawn battle, in which the savages were led by Logan, Cornstalk, a Shawnee, and Red Hawk, a Delaware. During the night the Americans were re-enforced, and the Indians withdrew to the Ohio side of the river. The Six Nations now came forward as peacemakers, and the authorities of Pennsylvania remonstrated and opposed the course of Dunmore, who had, with all his forces, entered the Ohio country

and was marching to the Scioto River. He at once changed his designs, returned to the mouth of the Hockhocking, and dispersed his army. At his camp, a few miles from the Scioto, he had, however, made a preliminary treaty with the Indians, which he never had an opportunity to carry out. At this treaty Logan made the memorable speech, or at least the one put into his mouth by Mr. Jefferson and others, and which has been so much admired and repeated.

The Indians of the North-western Territory were somewhat divided in their opinions as to the virtue of the contest between England and her Colonies. Some of them took the position that the colonists were stubborn and obstreperous children and should be punished, and others took the view the colonists did, and were ready to consider their case similar to what they had suffered themselves at the hand of England. This was, however, not the case with those tribes over which Sir William Johnson exercised almost unlimited control. Nor did he now scruple to turn the savages to the very warfare he had so deplored and had helped put down but a few years before.

The Continental Congress made the best possible effort to establish friendly relations with the Indians. Three sets of Indian Commissioners were appointed to look after these matters, one for the Cherokees and others of the South, one for the Shawnees and other tribes of the North-western Territory, and one for the Six Nations and those to the north of them.

In 1778, at Fort Pitt, a treaty was formed with the friendly Delawares. But the British were more successful. From Canada, the western border of New York, and Detroit they made constant exertions to enlist the Indians in their cause. Had they put forth half so much effort in 1760 and before, the revolting massacres of the Pontiac War might have been prevented.

The Americans were not at all fortunate in their dealings with the Indians. In 1777, Cornstalk, the rather fine old Shawnee chief, made a visit to Fort Randolph, built on the battle-ground at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and there was thrown into prison and afterward murdered. This evil deed broke the friendly link between the Shawnees and the Americans, and for a long time after the close of the War for Independence there was little peace or safety for the hardy adventurers of the West. The tomahawk and scalping-knife gleamed on every path in the vast border-land; and not unfrequently did the savage hordes, thirsting for the blood of the hated white race, and led by their renegade and desperate British allies, rush down with sword and fire upon the less protected settlements.

In the spring of 1778, George Rogers Clark, of Kentucky, having obtained authority, men, and money from Virginia, arrived at the Falls of the Ohio, on an expedition against the Indians. Here he made known to the troops his bold design of capturing Post Vincennes, on the Wabash, and Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi. With four companies, in



June he started down the river and landed at Fort Massac, a few miles below the mouth of the Tennessee. Here, after being joined by a company of hunters, he set out for Kaskaskia, which he captured without firing a gun, on the evening of the 4th of July. Immediately afterward Cahokia surrendered, and when the French found that their king had acknowledged the independence of the Colonies and become their ally, they gladly took the oath to Virginia and joined heartily in our cause. Through the French priest of Kaskaskia, who made a trip to Vincennes for that purpose, that post at once submitted, and the few Britons who were there left. The French citizens themselves hoisted the American flag over the place, and thus easily this old post fell into the hands of the Americans. Clark now fell to making treaties with the Indians, and his conduct was so pleasing to the French and the Indians that they came generally of themselves to sue for friendship. The leading Piankeshaw chief, Grand Door, residing on the Wabash above Vincennes, was one of the first to espouse the cause of the Big Knife, as they called the colonists. His example was followed by other chiefs, and in a short time the whole country had fallen into the new alliance. Treaties were made with most tribes from the Ohio and Mississippi to Lake Michigan, and east beyond the Wabash, embracing the Illinois, Peorias, Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, and two or three tribes of the Miamis. At Cahokia, where many of the chiefs came in of themselves to treat, Clark met them



with great ceremony and dignity, but with a degree of frankness and kindness to which they had not been used. In one of these conferences he presented them the following wonderful statement as to the causes of the war between England and her American Colonies, the "Big Knives:"—

"Men and warriors! pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, as he was good, that it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it be peace or war, and henceforward prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counselor. I carry War in my right hand, and in my left, Peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife and their friends to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country; and to watch the motions of the red people; not to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river, but to clear the roads from us to those who desire to be in peace, that the women and children may walk in them without meeting any thing to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the red people may hear no sound but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the cause of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship; and do not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knives are very much like the Red People;

they don't know how to make blankets and powder and cloth. They buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knives daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the lands become poor, and hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make cloths for themselves. They soon made blankets for their husbands and children, and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English. They then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country; as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French. They would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said we should buy every thing of them; and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased; and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us, which did not take place for some time after this treatment.

“But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry. Our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark. The old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun; and thus there was mourning for many years over the land.

“At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He then stuck down a post and put a war tomahawk by it and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again; and the old men held up their heads and assembled at the fire. They took up

the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it in the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war-post, and blood was shed. In this way the war began; and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak; and then they hired you Red People to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the Big Knives, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knives.

“You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one; take which you please. Behave like men; and don’t let your being surrounded by the Big Knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling-blocks in each other’s way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the lands, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything you might say.

“As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening; and when

the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."

John Montgomery, one of Clark's Captains, was sent to Virginia with an account of his great successes; and Governor Patrick Henry, who had favored the expedition, and the Legislature, were so much pleased with the results that an act was passed in October, 1778, organizing the new territory into Illinois County, to be a part of Virginia. But before this could be done, the British Governor of Detroit, with several hundred Indians and about seventy British regular soldiers and French volunteers, appeared at Vincennes, and again took possession of it in December, making prisoners of Captain Leonard Helm and one private, the only force Clark had found it necessary to send there to hold the place, and treat with the Indians.

But the reign of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton was short at Vincennes. Clark, seeing that Hamilton was exerting himself to bring to his aid the southern Indians, and finding that he was aiming to have a force early in the spring sufficiently strong to overrun Kentucky, believing this his only chance to save himself, as well as the country, set out from Kaskaskia early in February, 1779, with all his available force, and all the French volunteers he could raise, about two hundred men, to capture Vincennes. After one of the most remarkable trips ever made, he sat down with his brave followers before the British fort, just completed; and on the 24th and 25th of February, after a siege of two

or three days, was rewarded by the surrender of the garrison, with the loss of but one man killed and a few wounded. The town had received him with gladness, and supplied him with provisions and ammunition for his men. Even the Great Door of the Wabash had come in and proffered his aid, with that of a hundred of his warriors. By this expedition, led by Clark, with a "handful" of men, was all this region secured to the United States, and a large body of Indians was converted to friendship or greatly weakened in their attachment to the British cause. The conduct of Clark was soldierly to the highest degree, and his Indian diplomacy was artful and successful to the last extreme, although he acknowledged, in his own account, that all means, true and false, were alike adopted when there was an object worth working for.

In the summer of 1779, Colonel John Bowman, of Kentucky, made an unsuccessful expedition with three hundred men against the Indians on the Little Miami River. In the following spring six hundred British and Indians from Detroit came down through Ohio, crossed the river at the mouth of the Licking, and, after proceeding some distance up that stream, capturing and murdering many of the settlers, they retreated. In the spring of 1781, Daniel Broadhead, with eight hundred men, marched from Wheeling, which had been settled in 1770, against the Indians on the Muskingum. A few Indians were treacherously murdered, although not perhaps by Broadhead's order, and some towns burned, when the



expedition returned. In the following spring, David Williamson, with about ninety mounted men, crossed the Ohio River not far below Steubenville, and on March 8th murdered ninety-six unresisting, peaceable Moravian Indians on the Muskingum River. Over half of these Indians put to death were women and children. These deeds aroused the Indians, and the desperate warfare continued with increased fury. In 1782, several fierce conflicts took place.

Simon Girty, a renegade white man, who had long lived among the Indians, with several hundred of his followers, was met at the Lower Blue Licks, on Licking River, by less than two hundred Kentuckians under Colonel John Todd, and defeated them in a desperate battle, in which sixty of the brave Kentuckians were left dead on the field, among whom was Todd himself. These Indians had previously lost a number of men in an attempt to capture Bryant's Station.

George Rogers Clark, with over a thousand Kentuckians, marched from the mouth of the Licking River into the Indian country on the Big and Little Miami Rivers. But little more was accomplished than to lay waste the country. Several other events of importance happened this year, and among them the defeat of the Kentuckians on the Hinkston Fork of the Licking.

In the temporary lull which followed the peace with England, every effort was made by the Congress to make peace with all the Indians of the



North-western Territory. And in spite of the many disadvantages the new settlers flocked into the country. In 1786, a considerable force was raised in Kentucky, and put under the command of General Clark, designed to proceed against the Indians on the Miami, the Scioto, and the Wabash. But this expedition was not very successful. Poor Clark had lost his power to command spirited men. He had fallen into evil habits.

On Clark's last expedition to the Wabash a permanent post was established at Vincennes, Clark still having general command in the country, and now being apparently less scrupulous as to overstepping his authority in treating with the Indians.

In 1781, the Spaniards had made an expedition against a British post on the head-waters of the Maumee. In the way of plunder this was successful. It also gave them ground, as they held, for a claim to the country east of the Mississippi. In 1786, John Jay, Secretary of the Congress, in negotiating a treaty with the Spanish Minister, admitted a clause providing for a suspension of the right of the United States to navigate the Mississippi for twenty-five years. The Southern members of the Congress objected to this feature of the treaty, and it was not adopted. But for a time the case was not understood in the West, and was besides greatly exaggerated. The excitement was very considerable, the people adhering with great tenacity to a right which they would not need for many a year to put into practice, but which was a right all the

same. Spanish settlers and traders had appeared on the Wabash and in the Illinois country; and the troops at Vincennes went to extreme measures with the goods of these people. Some of the people of Kentucky, and others to the south, it was rumored, truthfully, were ready and preparing for an expedition against the Spaniards on the Mississippi. James Wilkinson, Richard C. Anderson, Thomas Marshall, and many of the best settlers in Kentucky, were opposed to the movement, and the Legislature of Virginia took active steps to put it down, censuring Clark for the part he was supposed to be taking in it; and finally the Congress, in the spring of 1787, provided for breaking up the free-booter-like organization of affairs at Vincennes, and General Josiah Harmar was appointed to take command of military concerns in the newly organized territory northwest of the river Ohio.

In October, 1787, the Congress also appointed General Arthur St. Clair as the first governor of this territory, and the following Spring gave him full instructions as to the course desired to be pursued. In January 1789, at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, he collected the sachems of the Six Nations, also many of those of the Ottawa, Delaware, Pottawatomie, Ojibwa, Wyandot, and Sac Nations, and made treaties with them, which were soon broken or denied by most of the latter tribes.

The Federal Government was now coming into operation, and one of its first objects was to look after the disturbances in this vast region, the value

of which began to appear of great moment. General Knox, the first Secretary of War, said at this time, in a report on the subject, that the first question to be decided was whether the Government had the right to destroy the Indians or to drive them from the country they owned or had owned, by force. He seemed to doubt the right of the United States to remove the Indians against their consent, and this was adopted as the policy of the Government afterwards. The next thing was to treat with the Indians, and in that way destroy their title to the lands, if a just cause of war did not arise. At this time the Wabash warriors were estimated at not much less than two thousand. The regular troops of the United States army, then posted at Vincennes, Falls of the Ohio (Fort Steuben), Cincinnati, Marietta (Fort Harmar), and Pittsburgh (Fort Pitt), did not perhaps much exceed six hundred men. And General Knox argued that the Government was not then able to send an adequate force into this country. The President was authorized by Congress to call on the States for militia for the protection of the advancing western tide of settlement.

In the winter of 1789, and the spring following, Governor St. Clair proceeded down the Ohio, to the Wabash and to the Mississippi, and from Vincennes he sent wampum and speeches up the Wabash to Eel River and the Maumee. Here the Miami tribe proper seemed to hold the power of final decision for all the confederated tribes, and these and all seemed to rest their final action on the will of the

British commander at Detroit. They also pretended that they must refer the speeches to the northern tribes. But they were suspicious of the Americans, believed that they meant to take their lands, and would deceive them in everything. Some of them were then on the war-path, especially the Shawnees, Chippewas, and Wyandots. They denied the authority of the treaty at Fort Harmar, and nothing satisfactory was obtained from any of them. They seemed to act in great harmony, none being willing to move without the consent of all the nations.

Finding that nothing could be done with these Indians, St. Clair returned to Fort Washington, then the army head-quarters, to consult with General Harmar, and take such steps as could be best devised to bring them to terms. But this was no easy matter. An expedition was planned against the Indians on the Wabash, which resulted in little more than the burning and destruction of some of their villages. About fourteen hundred and fifty men, consisting of three hundred regulars, a company of artillery with three small cannons, a battalion of light mounted troops, and the remainder militia, poorly equipped and poorly officered, from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, under the command of General Harmar, moved from Fort Washington, September 30, 1790, against the Indians on the Maumee. After a slow march of fifteen days, this miserable, undisciplined force reached the neighborhood of Fort Wayne at the head of the Maumee, more than one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Washington, the Indians having

retreated before it. On the 19th of October, Colonel John Hardin carelessly led out a detachment of several hundred troops, sixty of them being regulars. These fell in with the Indians under the Miami Chief Little Turtle, and were defeated. Colonel Trotter had previously taken out a detachment, but with no benefit to the expedition. Harmar had by this time lost all confidence in his force, and could not be induced to make any further risks, being contented to be able to march back unmolested to Fort Washington, which he reached on the 4th of November, not however without suffering a loss of over two hundred men in killed and wounded. Notwithstanding the utter unreliability of this force, it was successful in one of its objects, that of destroying the Indian towns and stores, and this was effected with little or no loss to the Americans. Yet, on account of the sudden return of the army and the great loss of life in the engagements of the several detachments, there was a general cry against the management of the expedition. General Harmar asked a court of inquiry, and by it was, no doubt, very justly acquitted of any blame. He was accused of sacrificing the detachments in a vain desire to gain more laurels than the expedition was likely to bring. This flippant charge had no foundation in fact. The conduct of the militia was, to a great extent, from the outset, such as to remove all ambitious designs from the mind of the General, if he had any; and the detachments defeated were mainly the inventions of the ambition of younger officers who



showed themselves unfit to cope with the Indians. Colonel Hardin gave, in his sworn testimony, that he urged the General after the last detachment was defeated to return to the Maumee with the whole force, and risk another engagement, when it had not been possible to get a hundred militia to go to the support of their defeated comrades. This, Harmar declined to do, believing himself, with all watchfulness, barely able to make a safe retreat to Cincinnati.

Although these men were from fighting countries, many of them were substitutes, and instead of being fighters, were plunderers. At the Miami villages, and even on the homeward march, the General had to issue orders threatening to have stragglers and plunderers shot. A noble army, indeed, in a country and among a people who presented nothing for plunder but greasy blankets, paint-kettles, and hominy-pots! So utterly contemptible was the conduct of some of this force that the commander was compelled to state in a general order that any plunder that may have been collected should be carefully distributed among them.

General Harmar was well acquainted with Indian warfare, and to all appearances little, if any, blame could be attached to him for the defects or failures of this expedition. If Little Turtle with five hundred of his cut-throats, every one of them yelling like fiends, had fallen on this army the day after the defeat of the last detachment, it would not be difficult to say or imagine what would have been its fate.



Congress now made provision for raising an army of three thousand men for this service, and Governor St. Clair, with the rank of Major-General, was appointed to command it. In the meantime the Kentuckians were authorized under the general direction of St. Clair, with a military board of their own, to make raids into the Indian country. Two of these were sent out, one under General Charles Scott from the Falls of the Ohio, and the other under Colonel or General James Wilkinson, of Lexington, from Cincinnati. Both of these expeditions were against the Indians on the Wabash, Eel, and Tippecanoe Rivers, and were quite successful in killing and capturing a number of Indians and destroying the growing corn and beans, and in burning villages. Wilkinson made a very pompous report of his expedition, announced the destruction of one respectable Kickapoo town, and congratulated himself on leaving the Indians in such condition as to make it as much as they could do the next winter to provide for the support of the poor squaws and children.

But the Indians did have time for something else. While St. Clair was gathering his army they were not idle. The Miamis, Shawnees, and Delawares were now the great aggressors, yet with them were adventurous warriors from the Northern tribes. Little Turtle and Blue Jacket, it is quite certain, put forth great efforts at this time to induce other nations to make common cause with theirs, to form a grand confederacy of all the tribes of the North-

western Territory against the Americans in a determination to establish the Ohio River as the boundary between them and the whites forever. In this enterprise they had two sources of advice and encouragement. One of these was the renegade white men, ignoble and desperate characters, traders and vagabonds, like Simon Girty, who had married with and become a part of themselves. The other was the British fur-traders and commanders of the American posts on the northern frontier, still held contrary to the treaty of 1783, by the British government. Three of these posts were Detroit, Michilimackinac and Niagara. In the Treaty of Paris it had been agreed that Americans should pay their ante-war British debts, and that nothing should be placed in the way of their collection in full. But this was found to be an up-hill kind of business. Some of the States even passed acts interfering with the settlement of the claims of British merchants. This the British Ministry took as a ground for holding the chain of forts on the north, contrary to the treaty. But the westernmost of these forts, those in the North-western Territory, were especially valuable to them as trading posts as long as they could hold the Indians to their friendship. These commanders and traders were the counselors of warlike savages, who had not for years been willing to accept a speech-belt even, from the Americans without their advice. Nor is it certain that these Englishmen did not hurry these Indians on in their evil course, one in which they could not

long be successful, by promises of help from King George, at no distant day.

The recruiting for St. Clair's expedition was slow; and in order to supply the deficiency which he saw would be the result, the General asked a thousand men from Kentucky, but only about one-third of these was raised, and when he set out from Fort Washington toward the Indian country in September, 1791, it was with a poorly organized force of less than two thousand soldiers, of every description. Richard Butler, also ranking as a major-general, was second in command, and this brave officer fell in the battle at Fort Recovery. With this expedition there were many brave and able officers.

The advance of the force under General Butler, about the middle of September, crossed the Big Miami about twenty-five miles from Cincinnati, and there on the east bank built Fort Hamilton. The army now moved forward in a direction nearly due north in the tier of counties now forming the western border of Ohio, cutting a road before it through the forest. A few miles south of the present town of Greenville, St. Clair halted and built Fort Jefferson. The army was now but forty miles beyond Fort Hamilton, and yet was far in advance of its supply train. After leaving Fort Jefferson the militia began to desert, and the First Regiment, the regulars, was sent back after them; but it never overtook them, nor did it meet the provision trains.

On the evening of the 3d of November the little army, now reduced to fourteen hundred effective

men, having reached the head-waters of the Wabash, took what was supposed to be a well-chosen position among the small creeks near where Fort Recovery was built in 1793. St. Clair had been ill, and scarcely able to keep with the army, yet there is no evidence that the expedition had not been well conducted up to this time. Nor did the little army now settle down for the night without having the customary provisions made for safety in the country of an enemy whose mode of warfare was well understood. That night General St. Clair had decided on the plan of a fort with Major Ferguson, which was to be commenced on the following day. But poor Ferguson did not live to build the fort, nor was it needed. Before sunrise on the morning of the 4th the Indians attacked the militia advance, and this, as is usual, at once rushed back upon the camp. A desperate battle took place, lasting for nearly three hours, in which the artillery was silenced, thirty-nine officers killed, nearly six hundred privates killed and missing, and twenty-two officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded, and the remainder of the force only saved by a dexterously conducted retreat. The First Regulars, which was sent to recover the deserters, was met by the retreating and nearly annihilated army; and St. Clair thought it was a blessed fortune that it did not arrive in time to share the fate of the greater part of the army. More than a hundred women accompanied their husbands and relatives in this expedition, and most of them fell

in the terrible conflict, or were afterwards inhumanly murdered by these red fiends. More than a thousand men and women were killed and wounded; and poor brave St. Clair, with his wretched handful of terrified fugitives, was only saved from a terrible fate by the thirst for blood and plunder which soon occupied the attention of the "noble red man" on the battle-field.

The defeat of St. Clair struck the settlers west of the Alleghanies with terror, and filled the Indians with courage and impudence. The whole country was startled, indeed, by the disaster; and the Government again set about raising another force with more determined hopes and purposes. Although St. Clair was greatly blamed for the failure of the expedition, he was finally acquitted, and, no doubt, justly, so far as it is now possible to judge.



## CHAPTER IV.

WAYNE'S WAR—BATTLE OF THE FALLEN TIMBERS—VERGE  
OF WAR WITH ENGLAND.

IN the fall of 1791, when Harrison arrived at Cincinnati, Fort Washington was the chief point, the center of attraction, and the seat from which drunkenness and other disreputable practices spread into the timid settlements around it. This fort was built of logs, cut on the ground, and inclosed about an acre of ground between Third and Fourth Streets, extending east of Broadway. A strong block-house was built in each corner of the fort, and a number of log-cabins for officers' and soldiers' barracks was built around within, leaving the center for parade ground. Here Harrison saw the return of Governor St. Clair's unfortunate expedition, and entered upon his own very fortunate career. Until in 1793, the garrison of Fort Washington was mainly inactive, and little opportunity offered for distinction even by those who were not absorbed in the dissipations then sanctioned, to a great extent, alike by soldiers and civilians. In 1792, Colonel James Wilkinson, of Lexington, Kentucky, was made a brigadier-general, and placed in command for the time at Fort Washington. Harrison devoted himself now to acquiring



a knowledge of his profession, and during this year was advanced to the position of a lieutenant. This advance was placed less on his services than his good habits, freedom from the general evil practices of the place, and his soldierly disposition. In selecting a commander of the army about to be raised to operate against the Indians in the West, it is supposed that Washington, for a time, had in view the appointment of George Rogers Clark. But, however this may have been, Anthony Wayne, whose qualities he knew, and who had greatly distinguished himself in the War of the Revolution, which the British agents were yet keeping up through their allies, the Indians, was chosen. Wayne accepted the position under the condition that he should have a sufficient force, have it well equipped, and have time to discipline it thoroughly before marching into the enemy's country. While these preparations were in progress, another effort was put forth to negotiate treaties with the Indians. Wilkinson sent Colonel John Hardin and Major Truman early in 1792, on different routes towards the Maumee to meet the Shawnee and Miami chiefs, and if possible, arrange terms of peace with them. These men were both murdered by the Indians without having an opportunity to attempt the execution of their mission. General Harmar made a treaty with a few Indians on the Wabash, but it amounted to little. Commissioners were also sent by Congress to Sandusky and other points on Lake Erie with a great hope of getting the Indians into a general treaty. But this, after

a long process of humoring the savages, utterly failed. The commissioners were Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering, and Beverley Randolph. They made a great and very impolitic, if not unworthy, show of seeking the favor of Simcoe, the Governor of Upper Canada, and British Commander of the United States post of Detroit. To all appearances, Simcoe was exceedingly cordial in his disposition to favor the object of the mission. But his insincerity has long been matter of history. One Alexander McKee, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who was very officious among the Indians on the Maumee and about Detroit, the origin of much of the Indian atrocity of that day, while acting with some show of respect towards the agents of the United States, was doubtless the chief instigator of their stubborn and warlike conduct.

Representatives of ten or fifteen tribes, most of the tribes of the North-western Territory, and several Canada tribes, were got together, but the Indians insisted on the Ohio River being made the boundary between themselves and the people of the United States. They refused to negotiate on any other foundation. Accordingly the commissioners stopped all intercourse with them and started for home, at the same time sending word to General Wayne, as to what he might expect.

While these things were going on, and notwithstanding the great suspension in immigration after the defeat of St. Clair's army in the fall of 1791, the ridiculous farce of making laws, and regulations

for holding courts at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Marietta, and Cincinnati, was not neglected by the governor and his judges of the supreme court of the Territory. At this very time the Indians were preparing to cut the throats of all the white people, and, at least, to dispute the right of possession of all this western country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Many of the people of Kentucky, and other citizens of the West, were organizing an expedition by the instigation of the French Jacobin and scoundrel, Genet, accredited minister of spasmodic, communistic France, to this country, against the Spaniards on the lower Mississippi, and against the laws, as well as the peace and safety of the United States.

Poor old George Rogers Clark had accepted a commission from Genet's agents to command this expedition, which would have taken an army of men from Kentucky large enough to subjugate all the Indian tribes of the North-western Territory. And at this very time, too, General Wayne was calling vainly on the authorities of Kentucky for a thousand men. In the spring of 1794, Wayne sent a detachment of infantry and artillery to Old Fort Massac, below the mouth of the Tennessee River, and this place was rebuilt and put in order to intercept Clark's Spanish expedition, if necessary. But the successor of "Citizen" Genet was unfavorable to this scheme, and this, with the action of the Government, caused it to melt away.

On the Ohio, twenty miles below Pittsburgh, Wayne gathered his army and watched the Indians

during a great part of 1792. In April, 1793, he moved down to Cincinnati, and there, soon after this date, Lieutenant Harrison came under his command. Wayne was not long in discovering Harrison's good qualities, the result of which was his offer of the position of aid to the General, and his having the good fortune to serve in that capacity during the entire campaign against the Indians. Wayne's camp was between Fort Washington and Mill Creek, which he facetiously called "Hobson's Choice," because it was the only place where he could camp.

In October, 1793, his force amounted to about thirty-six hundred men, besides a few friendly Indians. Early in that month he moved toward the Indian and British head-quarters on the Maumee (Omi, very inconveniently and constantly and ridiculously called the Miami by some early writers, when there were two Miamis flowing into the Ohio, and still very unnecessarily and confusingly called Miami of the Lakes by some writers).

North of Fort Jefferson, five or six miles, he went into winter quarters. This location was on a small branch of the Big Miami River, where Greenville, Darke County, Ohio, now stands. Soon after the army reached Greenville, General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, with a large force of militia, joined it, and after rendering some service in escorting a supply train which had been attacked by the Indians, this force was sent home. The position was thoroughly fortified at Camp Greenville, but little of

great importance happened during the winter. A detachment of men, one of whom was Lieutenant Harrison, was sent in December to occupy and erect a fort on the spot where St. Clair was defeated. This place was called Fort Recovery. After Fort Recovery was built the Indians sent messengers proposing to enter into negotiations for peace. Wayne gave them a month to deliver up their captives and present their terms. But nothing came of this, nor did he believe it was anything more than a scheme to get time for perfecting their plans for war.

On the 29th of June, 1794, a train of supplies, escorted by about one hundred and fifty men under Major McMahon, was taken from camp over to the garrison at Fort Recovery. Outside of the walls of the fort, on the next day, this small force was attacked by a large body of Indians and Canadians, estimated as high as fifteen hundred, and a fierce engagement took place, the Americans losing more than fifty men in killed, wounded, and missing. During the night the remainder of the detachment entered the fort, and on the 1st of July the British made a fierce attack on the fort, but were repulsed. In the battle of the 30th, poor McMahon and several other brave officers were among the killed.

I have said that this attack on Fort Recovery was made by the British. While I do not think it essential at this point to present a full history of the conduct of the British authorities on the northern border, and of the overbearing, tyrannical, impudent, insulting; and intolerable course of the British



government toward this country at this time, it may be briefly stated :—

1st. That in the late wars with the Indians in the North-western Territory there were constant evidences of British interference from Canada.

2d. That in the recent attempts of the United States Commissioners on Lake Erie to bring the Indians to terms of peace, the Indians did not wish to make any steps toward pacification without the advice and consent of the British agents, and that they were even unwilling to meet the commissioners in council without the presence of the British Governor of Upper Canada.

3d. That the failure to treat with the Indians at that time was mainly, if not wholly, owing to the evil advice given them by these Britons.

4th. That Sir Guy Carlton (Lord Dorchester), the Governor-General of Canada, told the Indians very early in the spring of 1794, at Quebec, that there was a prospect of immediate war between the United States and England.

5th. That soon after this speech Simcoe, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, was ordered to build and strongly man a fort not only in the center of the region likely to be the immediate battle-ground, but also far within the territory well known to belong to the United States by the Treaty of Paris.

6th. That this fort was built at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, and from it were the savages fed and directed during the campaign in which

they and their white allies were defeated by General Wayne.

7th. That a vast number of Canadians, thoroughly organized and officered, was in the engagement at Fort Recovery, and also in the final battle fought below the rapids, within gun-shot of the British fort; and that the scoundrel, Caldwell, who commanded this fort, refused to take the defeated Indians in, as had been agreed upon before the battle, if such an emergency arose.

8th. And that, finally, the Indians, both privately and openly, told General Wayne in the long treaty negotiations at Greenville, that the British had not only for years urged them to resist and fight, but at all times had aided them and promised them succor, and in the last great struggle had given them much assistance and direction, and cheered them on by assurances of their soon being joined by the forces of King George of England.

In July, 1794, General Charles Scott again came over from Kentucky, this time with sixteen hundred mounted volunteers, a fine body of men, well officered and anxious to fight. On the 28th of July the whole army moved from Greenville toward the British and Indian towns on the Maumee. On the St. Mary's River Wayne stopped long enough to build Fort Adams. But on the 8th of August he reached the mouth of the Auglaize. Here the Indians had their general store-houses. At this spot were gathered the provisions and other supplies, and all the superfluous "trash" belonging to a dirty,

improvident, nomadic race. It was the center of the old Indian settlements. For several generations the women had here planted corn and beans; and to it they had always returned after the winters' wanderings. Wayne spoke of capturing this place with the enthusiasm of an amateur general. The enemy had run away and left the spoils, such as they were. However, it was an inspiring moment for "Mad Anthony," no doubt. He thus speaks of it in a letter to General Knox:—

"The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the Lakes and Auglaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

In a few days this was all changed. Fort Defiance was built at the confluence of these rivers, and the fields of green corn, the work of many dirty, dark hands, were laid waste. Before leaving Fort Defiance, on the 15th of August, Wayne sent a brief talk to the Indians, offering them now for the last time the "olive branch." In this he said:—

"Brothers: Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids; they have neither the power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this last overture of peace. But in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion

of your blood. Let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquillity."

This was gush and chivalry enough for General Jackson. The fact of the case was, always was, that the Indian children were fiendish little imps, blood-sucking cannibals. And when any thing really underhanded, sneaking, and devilish was to be done, it was intrusted to these smiling, coquetting, innocent, dark-browed, dirty mothers and maids of the forest. It was always the business and infernal delight of these innocent creatures to pile the burning fagots at the stake; to apply the torch to the writhing body; to pinch and prick the naked skin; to hack the burning body with their knives, darts, and tomahawks; and midst the dying agonies of the tortured victim dance and shriek in spasms of joy. They were all much alike. Age or sex has not much argument in its favor. The few Pocahontases who have harbored angels, and risen far above their race, have been, unfortunately, more the work of fiction than true history.

The Indians sent back his messenger, without having cut off his ears, with the word that, if he staid where he was ten days, they would treat with him; but if he advanced, they would fight. That was a lie, and Wayne knew it. The army set forward, and on the 19th halted about seven miles from the British Fort Miami. Here the day was spent in ascertaining the location of the enemy, and building a temporary fort, which was called Fort

Deposit, and was designed for depositing baggage and stores.

The Indians now saw that they must decide upon their course. In the council of this day it is said that the voice of Little Turtle was for peace, but the decision was against him. Blue Jacket, the Shawnee, was appointed to command in the coming conflict; and the battle-ground chosen in a clump of fallen timber, which Wayne thought had been especially provided by a tornado, and which rendered his large cavalry force comparatively useless at the outset. That night two of Wayne's spies stole into the Indian camp, and, finding them all asleep but a squaw, led her out, and drew from her the fact that they were ready and determined to fight. At eight o'clock the American army moved forward in order of battle, as the circumstances best admitted. A volunteer advance under Major Price was soon engaged with the concealed foe, and compelled to retreat. Scott, with his mounted Kentuckians, was sent to gain the enemy's right flank; and Campbell, with the cavalry of Wayne's legion, to gain the left, on the Maumee; and in the center the infantry were ordered to charge. The work was soon done. The Indians and British were routed at the point of the bayonet, and flew in all directions for safety, when they found that the British fort was shut against them. Not more than a thousand of Wayne's men took part in this engagement, called the Battle of the Fallen Timbers, nor were they more than an hour in completely



putting to flight the savage force. Between fifteen hundred and two thousand Indians were engaged, and with them were seventy Canadian whites and and white volunteers from Detroit. Besides, the Indians had the "moral" support of Fort Miami, with a garrison of nearly five hundred men. This was a cowardly fight on the part of the Indians, and well sustained their general character of skulking cowards. Thirty-nine Americans were killed or died of their wounds in this engagement, and about two hundred were wounded. The Indian loss was, perhaps, much larger, as many of them were cut down by the cavalry, and others were shot in their attempt to cross the river.

The following is Wayne's own report of this affair :—

"HEAD-QUARTERS, GRAND GLAIZE, August 28, 1794.

"SIR,—It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miami, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the Rapids.

"The army advanced from this place on the 15th instant, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

"At eight o'clock on the 20th, the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right flank, covered by the Miami; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd; and the other in the rear, under Brigadier-General Barbee;

a select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form, in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

"The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close, thick wood, which extended for miles on our left; and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their savage mode of warfare, they were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending nearly two miles, at right angles with the river.

"I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and the extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance, to support the first, and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance with trailed arms and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again. I also ordered Captain Miss. Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge of the first line of infantry that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, yet but a part of each could get up in season to

participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

“From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants; the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages with their allies abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the inclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

“The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude; among whom I beg leave to mention Brigadier-General Wilkinson and Colonel Hamtranck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops; and to these I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butts and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant-General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential services, by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. Lieutenant Covington, upon whom the command of the cavalry now devolved, cut down two savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant Webb one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

“The wounds received by Captains Slough and Prior, and Lieutenants Campbell, Smith (an extra aid-de-camp to General Wilkinson), of the legionary infantry, and Captain Van Rensselaer, of the dragoons, and Captain Rawlins, Lieutenant McKenney, and Ensign Duncan, of the mounted volunteers, bear an honorable testimony to their bravery and conduct.

“Captains H. Lewis and Brock, with their companies of light infantry, had to sustain an unequal fire for some time, which they supported with fortitude. In fact, every officer

and soldier, who had an opportunity to come into action, displayed that true bravery which will always insure success.

“And here permit me to declare that I never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers; and I am well persuaded that, had the enemy maintained their favorite ground but for one-half hour longer, they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

“But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living, I must not forget the gallant dead; among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, Captain Miss. Campbell, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Towles, of the light infantry of the legion, who fell in the first charge.

“Inclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded; the loss of the enemy was more than double that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of the Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

“We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol-shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators of this general devastation and conflagration—among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian Agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

“The army returned to this place on the 27th by easy marches, laying waste the villages and corn-fields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miami; there remain yet a number of villages, and a great quantity of corn to be consumed or destroyed, upon Auglaize and the Miami, which will be effected in the course of a few days. In the interim we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

“It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make

one more desperate effort against the army; as it is said that a re-enforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miami, from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians, living on the margins of the lakes. This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, as long as the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be more complete and decisive—and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

“Under these impressions, I have the honor to be your most obedient and very humble servant,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“The Hon. Major-General Knox, Secretary of War.”

Wayne next turned his attention to destroying the Indian villages and laying waste their country for many miles around, and under the guns of the British fort, to which he also paid his respects, and would have rejoiced in the privilege of battering it down, a fate it richly deserved at his hands. Soon after the battle, with several of his aids, Wayne closely inspected this fort, and on account of his impertinence, received the following note from Mr. William Campbell, its commander:—

“MIAMI (MAUMEE) RIVER, August 21, 1794.

“SIR,—An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami (Maumee) for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty’s troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation on my part to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.



"I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"WILLIAM CAMPBELL,

"Major Twenty-fourth Regiment,

"Commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.

"To Major-General WAYNE, etc."

To this Wayne replied in these words:—

"CAMP ON THE BANKS OF THE MIAMI (MAUMEE), }  
August 21, 1794. }

"SIR,—I have received your letter of this date, requiring of me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think, I may without breach of decorum, observe to you, that, were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE,

"Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

"To Major WILLIAM CAMPBELL."

Other bad-humored letters passed between these unfriendly officers, the last of which from Campbell, General Wayne wisely, perhaps, neglected, thus exhibiting a wonderful degree of moderation for him,

although he immediately set to work to destroy every thing which would be of advantage to the British, as well as the Indians, within miles of the fort.

James Wilkinson, recently of Kentucky, now a General, was second in command in this campaign and was very active in this battle at the Rapids of the Maumee. Among those honorably mentioned was Lieutenant Harrison. Harrison had something to do in forming one wing of the army for the battle, and it is said that at the right moment he rushed to a wavering line and cried: "Onward, my brave fellows! the enemy are flying, one fire more and the day is ours!"

The Indians were now very generally inclined to make peace with the United States in spite of their British friends. Wayne went into quarters at Greenville, and during the winter of 1794, many chiefs visited him and sued for peace. In the course of the negotiations which followed were reported some of the most remarkable speeches ever accredited to the native orators.

## CHAPTER V.

INDIAN ORATORS—WAYNE'S TREATY—HARRISON AT FORT WASHINGTON—BEGINS HIS POLITICAL CAREER—SECRETARY OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—DELEGATE IN CONGRESS—ARTHUR ST. CLAIR—HARRISON, THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

ON the 19th of July, 1795, Blue Jacket, a Shawnee Chief, privately made the following speech to General Wayne :—

“BROTHER AND ALLY,—It is a long time since I left you. I believe it is about five months. Many things have occurred since that time, which I will inform you of, as you may be unacquainted with them. I visited the British, and was kindly received at their garrison on the Miami. I was asked for news. I had none for them, except that of my kind reception from you. Mr. Magdalen wrote from thence to Detroit, that he had taken off my blue coat, which I had received from the Americans, and broke my gun, which he also falsely said was presented to me by General Wayne. I did not rest until I had exposed this man and refuted his assertions. I informed all the Indians of my full persuasions of the truth, of the kind and benevolent intentions you expressed to me, and that they in due time would be convinced of the goodness of your motives. Mr. McKee invited me to his house, and told me he was very sorry to find I had acted with such little regard for my people ; that he ascribed my strange conduct to the instigations of some evil spirit

who had led me astray from the plain good road, and put me in the path which led to the Americans. 'The commission you received from Johnson,' said he, 'was not given you to carry to the Americans. I am grieved to find that you have taken it to them. It was with much regret I learned that you had deserted your friends, who always caressed you and treated you as a great man. You have deranged, by your imprudent conduct, all our plans for protecting the Indians and keeping them with us. They have always looked up to you for advice and direction in war, and you have now broken the strong ties which held them all together, under your and our direction. You must now be viewed as the enemy of your people, and the other Indians, whom you are seducing into the snares the Americans have formed for their ruin; and the massacre and destruction of these people, by the Americans, must be laid to your charge.'"

While this council-fire was kept burning so long at Greenville, one of the leading talkers, a Chipewewa Chief, made this remarkable speech to General Wayne:—

"Elder brother, and all you present, listen to me with attention! When the Great Spirit made the world he put me at Michilimackinac, where I first drew my breath. At first I was entirely naked and destitute; and as if he had compassion on me, he pointed out to me the way to the white people. I followed his path and found them below Quebec, at the Falls of Montmorenci. I was satisfied the Great Spirit pitied us, for you whites had all pity on us, and hence we always loved you. The Great Spirit had blessed you with greater knowledge than we are possessed of; you are therefore entitled to great respect. When we first found the French whites we took them to our fires, and they have lived among us ever since. (A white

string.) Elder Brother! You see all your brothers assembled here, in consequence of your message last winter. At that time the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, some who call themselves Sanekeys, and the Miamis, heard your words. You remember, brother, I then told you I would withdraw the dark cloud from your eyes, that you might know us again. You see I have done so, for you now behold us all clearly. At the same time I told you I would open both your ears and my own, that we might hear each other clearly. Our ears are opened accordingly, and we hear and understand accurately. I now speak to you with a pure heart. This white wampum testifies our sincerity and unanimity in sentiment. I now put your heart in its right place, as you did mine, that you may make known to the fifteen fires what I now tell you. (A blue and white string.) Elder Brother! When I view my situation I consider myself as an object of compassion. Elder Brother, listen to me! As I told you last winter, if we Indians have acted wrong, we are not entirely to blame. It was our father, the British, who urged us to bad deeds, and reduced us to our present state of misery. He persuaded us to shed all the blood we have spilled. You this day see me fulfill my promise. With this belt I cover all the slain, together with our evil actions. (A white belt.) Elder Brother, listen to me with attention! I speak in the name of all present. You see that I am worthy of your compassion. When I look upward I see the sky serene and happy, and when I look on the earth I see all my children wandering in the utmost misery and distress. I tell you this to inform you I have never moved my fire, that I still live where the Great Spirit first placed me. (A belt.) Elder Brother, listen! The Great Spirit above hears us, and I trust we shall not endeavor to deceive each other. I expect what we are about to do shall never be forgotten as long as we exist. When I show you this belt I point out to you



your children at one end of it and mine at the other; and I would solicit the fifteen fires, and their women and children, to have pity on my helpless offspring. I now tell you that we will assist you, to the utmost of our power, to do what is right. Remember, we have taken the Great Spirit to witness our present actions. We will make a new world, and leave nothing on it to incommode our children. (Exhibits a white belt.)”

Masass, a “distinguished” Ojibwa Chief, addressed General Wayne as follows:—

“Elder Brother! You say, at the Fort of Detroit, you intend to take a piece of land six miles deep, from the river Racine to Lake St. Clair. I now ask you what is to become of our brothers, the French, who live on this land? We look on them as our brothers and friends, who treated us well when abused by the British. We wish to know your sentiments on this subject. We think, brother, you could find land enough between the rivers Raisin and Rouge. We have no objection to your reservation at the foot of the Rapids. We have no objection to any other proposition you have made; and we sincerely wish we could now take you among us, because the British, on our return, will renew their old songs. Elder Brother! My children must have suffered since I left home; perhaps I myself may be made unhappy on my return to them; for the British may probably say, Why do n't you seek relief from your new friends? This makes me uneasy, and urges me to entreat you to come immediately and live near us. You might then assist us, and it would be more convenient for the surrender of our prisoners. I hope you pity my situation. When I returned from the Treaty of Muskingum, McKee threatened to kill me. I have not now less cause to fear him, as he has endeavored to prevent my coming hither. Elder Brother! You asked who were the true owners of the lands now

ceded to the United States. In answer, I will tell you, that if any nation should call themselves the owners of it, they would be guilty of a falsehood. Our claim to it is equal; our elder brother has conquered it. Brothers! Have done trifling. Let us conclude this great work; let us sign our names to the treaty now proposed, and finish our business. Elder Brother! If I can escape the snares of McKee and his bad birds, I shall ascend as high as the Falls of St. Mary's and proclaim the good tidings to all your distant brothers in that quarter. (Gives a belt.)"

During the whole of the summer of 1795, the negotiations continued. The Cherokees at the head of the Scioto were called in, and arrangements made to send them to their tribe in the South; the treaty was signed, the "council fire put out," and the Indians dispersed. The Indians, who took part in this treaty, were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias.

One article of the treaty required the return to Greenville in ninety days of all white captives. All Indian prisoners were also to be given up to their friends. It is a remarkable fact, that some captive whites preferred to remain with their wild and homeless friends. Women, captured at different times, for many years, during bloody Indian raids; women, young women, who saw or knew their fathers and brothers had been brutally murdered, who saw their cabin homes burned to ashes; women, whose relatives were cut down or tortured before their own eyes,

became the wives of these filthy fiends, and were, years afterwards, unwilling to desert them or abandon the wretched, but perhaps not altogether unattractive, lives they were living.

By the treaty of Greenville it was provided as follows :—

“The general boundary-line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Laurens, thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami River running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie’s store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary’s River, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie, thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash, thence south-westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawa River.”

Besides this there were nineteen or twenty reservations, from two to twenty miles square, in various parts of the North-western Territory, provided for in this treaty. This treaty was signed on the 3d of August, and was altogether much more favorable than the Government had hoped to get or ask.

Now came many years of great peace and rapid growth in the West. The difficulties with Great Britain were, in a manner, settled, and the forts in the territory of the United States held by that government were given up in 1796. The last service

rendered to the country by General Wayne was receiving these posts. On his way to the National Capital from Detroit, he died at Presque Isle. His body was interred at Erie, but years afterwards (in 1809) was removed by his son, Isaac, to Chester County, Pennsylvania.

The result of the campaign against the Indians, so far as General Harrison was concerned, was his advance to the rank of captain, and command of the garrison and affairs of Fort Washington. This position was one of considerable importance at the time, and was given to him on account of Wayne's great confidence in his character and ability. The position was largely a confidential one. Harrison had not been a partisan in the disgraceful intrigues against the commander-in-chief during the campaign of 1794 and 1795; and while being greatly attached to General Wayne, he had avoided giving offense to the second officer and his friends. A very decidedly ill-feeling existed throughout the West yet against Spain, and the French citizens and agents in this country were using every means to stimulate this disposition. The conduct of the Spaniards on the Mississippi was aggravating. All this called for a watchful, discreet, and faithful man in the post at Cincinnati. Harrison was expected to keep thoroughly informed as to the movements of the agents of France, and the growing sentiment against the Spaniards. The posts of this country, which had been unjustly held by England until recently, on the northern border, were, some of them, to be garrisoned

and supplied through Fort Washington, and the supervision of this was a part of the duty of the commandant at that post. This position Harrison held until the spring of 1798, when he resigned his commission in the army, and settled on a tract of land at North Bend. In the meantime he had been married to the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, who was one of the first judges of the Territory, and proprietor of the lands between the two Miamis, on the Ohio River.

Winthrop Sargeant, secretary of the North-western Territory in May, 1798, was made Governor of the newly organized South-western Territory (Mississippi), and on the 26th of June, President John Adams nominated William Henry Harrison, of North Bend, to be his successor. Two days afterwards the Senate confirmed this appointment, and he at once assumed the duties of the office. In the absence of Governor St. Clair, the secretary was, by virtue of his position, acting governor. Harrison's conduct in this first civil position was quite satisfactory to the people. This they exhibited by his election, October 3, 1799, by the Legislature of the Territory, then first in session, as the first Representative in Congress. His only opponent was Arthur St. Clair, Jr. The vote was closely divided, however, the son of the old Governor receiving ten of the twenty-two votes.

The first Legislature of the North-western Territory was not a partisan body. In the choice of the first delegate in Congress, politics was not considered, although it was well understood that Harrison was



favorable to the claims of Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency. At this first session of the Legislature resolutions were passed, with few dissenting voices, approving the Administration of President Adams. Judge Jacob Burnet, who succeeded General Harrison in Congress, said that Harrison was one of the only men, four in number, at Cincinnati and vicinity, that supported Mr. Jefferson instead of Mr. Adams in 1800. Ohio was well pleased with the conduct of Mr. Adams as President, and in 1799, the Legislature sent an address to him eulogizing his administration of public affairs, his character, his wisdom, his patriotism, and his services to the country. Few of the leading settlers of Ohio were then favorable to Mr. Jefferson.

Soon after Harrison received his certificate of election, he set out on the long journey to Philadelphia, and in January, 1800, took his seat in Congress. As to his political preferences at this time, Judge Burnet subsequently said in a speech in Cincinnati:—

“My personal acquaintance with him commenced in 1796, under the Administration of Washington. The intimacy between us was great and our intercourse was constant; and from that time till he left Cincinnati, I was in the habit of arguing and disputing with him on political subjects. I was a Federalist—honestly so, from principle—and adhered to the party till it dissolved, and its elements mingled with other parties formed on different principles. I can therefore speak on this point with absolute certainty, and I affirm most solemnly, that under the Administration of Washington, and the Administration of the elder Adams, William Henry Harrison was a firm,

consistent, unyielding republican, of the Jefferson school. He advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson, and warmly maintained his claims against Mr. Adams."

A few words may, perhaps, well be written here concerning General St. Clair, who was for a time the most important character appearing in the early history of the great North-western Territory. Arthur St. Clair was born in Scotland in 1734. He had a university education, and studied medicine. But his taste for military life led to his obtaining a position in the British army, and under the brave Wolfe he came to America. He served in the Canada campaign, and was present at the capture of Quebec. At the peace of 1763, he resigned his commission, and settled in Pennsylvania, as a farmer and surveyor. He also filled a number of public offices, and was very highly esteemed. In 1775, the Continental Congress gave him a Colonel's commission; and in the fall of 1776, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. He served under Washington at Princeton and Trenton, and was then promoted to the rank of Major-General. He was in command of Ticonderoga, and, on the approach of Burgoyne, evacuated the post and retreated. His conduct on this occasion was severely censured; but as the circumstances became better known, his course was, in the main, approved, and Congress acquitted him of any charges brought against him. At the close of the Revolution, he returned to his home in Pennsylvania. In 1785, he was sent to Congress.

In 1787, he was appointed first Governor of the North-western Territory; and in the following spring went to Marietta, where the first settlement had just been formed north of the Ohio.

He remained in that position until the winter of 1802, when Ohio was on the point of becoming a State, when President Jefferson removed him. This removal he owed to his enemies, of whom he had many in the Territory, as Mr. Jefferson was well disposed towards him. He was very exacting as to his own rights and privileges as Governor, and made, by his arbitrary and perhaps not always just or right course, many enemies. But he was devoted to the interests of the Territory, and was a good Governor. His administration and character were defended by Charles Hammond and other friends, and the animus of his accusers exposed. His connection with the history of the great "Territory North-west of the river Ohio" is highly honorable.

He again took up his residence near his old home in Pennsylvania, where he lived, and died in poverty, August 31, 1818. In 1879, or thereabouts, the Ohio Legislature bought his letters and public papers, which had been found unappreciated in his old home; and in the Legislature of that winter some steps were taken towards having them printed.

Under the first Presidents, in the great mass of cases, if not all of them, quality and fitness were of more importance in the appointment of public officers than politics. Although President Adams knew, perhaps, that Harrison would have voted against

him, and preferred his opponent, this fact was not considered in selecting a successor for Winthrop Sargeant. During Harrison's service as Secretary of the Territory, he had made many friends. That is, his course had greatly recommended him to the people. His manners were pleasing, and well suited to the place and times. And he undoubtedly made the most of his fortunate circumstances. The real secret, however, of his election to Congress lay, to a great extent, in the position he took as to the method then used in disposing of the lands belonging to the Government. He had had as good an opportunity to see the working and tendency of the system as anybody, and he was at principle honest enough to oppose it. He believed the public lands should belong to the people, not to wealthy and favored speculators; to those who fought for them and improved them. At the outset, he was decidedly republican in this matter, and in advance of the legislative spirit of the day. On all subjects relating to the welfare of the Territory he had talked freely. His sentiments were well known, and his honesty and ability were undoubted. Especially were his views as to the old monarchic, or aristocratic, unjust, and foolish way of selling the public lands, and keeping them out of the hands of the people, of importance now.

After peace was made with the Indians, and the extinction (as it was called) of their titles to the land, this was the question of paramount importance to the hardy and adventurous settlers. The public

lands were held at two dollars an acre, a price deemed entirely too high for actual settlers. Still, this was the least of the evils against which they had to contend, as the land was sold in such vast tracts that none but men of wealth and corporations could buy it. Excepting in special cases it was sold either in great areas of miles in length, as in the case of the purchase of John Cleves Symmes, or in lots of four thousand acres. The old lordly land-aristocrat, whether Federalist or Republican, in Congress at that day, could not get it into his limited understanding that this practice was ruinous to the country, unjust to the mass of its people, and wholly unrepblican in its character. To show them these things was reserved for the first young Representative from the vast Territory Northwest of the river Ohio.

Harrison's business was well defined before he entered his seat in Congress. The men composing that body at that day compare well with those of any more recent dates. Yet Harrison entered upon his difficult work without hesitancy. The result will be seen. His first step was to secure the appointment of a committee in the House to inquire into the mode of disposing of the public lands. Or perhaps it should strictly be said that his first step was to enlist in his designs the aid of Albert Gallatin, and several other able members of that body. He was himself appointed chairman of the committee, which was a distinction of some importance for a territorial delegate, but was meant



to further the work in hand. He soon made a report, and offered a bill providing for the sale of the public lands in tracts of one hundred and sixty and three hundred and twenty acres, or quarter and half sections. The report was able, and the radical change it proposed in the public policy created great excitement, as well as brought him into immediate prominence. The bill passed in the House, but in the Senate it was more violently opposed. Committees of conference on the part of the two Houses were appointed, Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Harrison representing the Lower House, and a compromise was finally arranged, fixing the quantities at three hundred and twenty and six hundred and forty acres, and the bill was then passed. This was the last struggle of the old land kings.

But the law was yet not what it should have been, nor is it now so. The agricultural lands belonging to the Government should long ago have been sold only to actual settlers, heads of families, or those likely to become such soon, and in quantities from forty to one hundred and sixty acres, according to the circumstances, at from one to three dollars per acre.

Of this first legislative work Harrison said in a letter to his constituents:—

“Amongst the variety of objects which engaged my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our Territory, none appeared to me of so much importance as the adoption of a system for the sale of the public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of purchasers who are

likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject. Conformably to this idea, I procured the passage of a resolution at an early period for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration. And shortly after, I reported a bill containing terms for the purchaser as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the House of Representatives without any material alteration; but in the Senate amendments were introduced obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given from the date of the purchase, and directing that one-half the land (instead of the whole, as was provided by the bill from the House of Representatives), should be sold in half sections of three hundred and twenty acres, and the other half in whole sections of six hundred and forty acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the Lower House, at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the Senate to recede from their amendments; but, upon the whole, there is cause of congratulation to my fellow-citizens that terms as favorable as the bill still contains have been procured. This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of the land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years; besides this, the odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments under the old law, is entirely abolished, and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money; if the land is not then paid for, it is sold, and, after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land-

offices are directed to be opened—one at Cincinnati, one at Chillicothe, one at Marietta, and one at Steubenville—for the sale of the lands in the neighborhood of those places. In a communication of this kind it is impossible to detail all the provisions of the law. I have, however, sent a copy of it to the printers at Cincinnati, with a request that they would publish it several weeks.”

This was the most just and favorable act of Congress yet passed for improving, equalizing, and republicanizing the people of the West; and it at once brought the man, who really did stand in the front in securing it, into public favor. The report and bill came mainly from the pen of Albert Gallatin, however, but it was deemed best for Harrison to appear as their author. Although for a time he submitted to this arrangement, finally of his own accord he made known the fact, giving the honor to the unassuming and patriotic foreigner, whose pen was equal to almost any task. Still, this did not at all take from him the honor and good fortune of being the author of the equitable system of disposing of the public land, of making its ownership possible to the poor man.

Two other acts marked Harrison's first session in Congress. One was the passage of a bill to change the plan of locating military land warrants; and an extension of the time allowed for paying for lands bought on the northern border of Symmes's Purchase, in its original boundary, for which Symmes could not give titles. These measures and the general peace with the Indians started a tide of

emigration to this Territory, yet unknown in the history of the country. And so favorably was Harrison's conduct regarded that quite an effort was made to have him appointed Governor instead of General St. Clair. Petitions were sent to the President for that purpose. But this movement he stopped at once by refusing to stand in opposition to Governor St. Clair, to whom he was attached, and who deserved the place. Harrison's progress had been very great, and at such an age he could afford to wait. But during that session of Congress, May 7th, an act was passed dividing the North-western Territory. The new Territory was called Indiana, and on the 13th of May, 1800, William Henry Harrison was confirmed as its first Governor. In this appointment President Adams again exhibited his freedom from partisan preferences, when the quality of the man and the evident desire of the people were in question. This new Territory then contained nearly five thousand civilized people, and included the country now embraced by Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota, and in 1803 Michigan was added to it. The seat of government was fixed at Vincennes, and the chief settlements were in the neighborhood of that place, at the Falls of the Ohio (Clark's Grant), and at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Besides this appointment, Harrison was also made Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Indiana. The eastern part of the old North-western Territory was still called "The Territory Northwest of the river Ohio," and St. Clair retained as its Governor. Early

in January, 1801, Governor Harrison reached Vincennes, and on the 10th of that month issued his proclamation convening the Territorial Supreme Court, consisting of three judges, to enact laws for the Territory.



## CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF INDIANA—SLAVERY IN THE  
NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—THE GOVERNOR  
AND THE INDIANS AT FORT WAYNE—HAR-  
RISON'S TEMPERANCE SPEECH—IN-  
DIAN CRUSADERS.

GOVERNOR HARRISON met the judges of the Territory, in legislative capacity, at Vincennes, January 12, 1801; and, after sitting together for two weeks, these four men enacted and published seven laws and several resolutions, with which to start the new government. Early in March the three judges held the first Indiana court at Vincennes. The most important questions demanding the attention of Governor Harrison and the settlers of Indiana at the outset, and for several years subsequently, were land titles, removing Indian titles, treaties with the Indians, the conditions of suffrage, a division of the Territory, negro slavery, and, after a time, the restless and finally hostile attitude of the savages, and especially of Tecumseh, a young leader then becoming prominent among the Shawnees.

Slaves had been brought to Louisiana early in the 18th century. Louis XV, of France, had sent over a code for the government of his colony, but

most of these rules related to the slaves. Pretty much the whole business of the colony, in the estimation of this king, seemed to be raising slaves and thinking about them. Some of the French settlers in Illinois, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, brought with them slaves, and, until after Virginia ceded her rights in the territory north of the Ohio to the Continental Congress in 1784, little objection was made to slavery in all this region. The sixth article of the Ordinance of Congress, passed June 13, 1787, declared that involuntary servitude, except for crime, should not exist in the North-western Territory. But this wise ordinance had not been very strictly carried out. In November, 1802, certain pro-slavery citizens induced Governor Harrison to call a convention, to meet at Vincennes in December, to consider the repeal of the ordinance prohibiting slavery. Harrison presided at this convention. A memorial to Congress was prepared, setting forth the disposition of the people of Indiana to have the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787 repealed. Ohio had refused to allow slaves to be brought into that Territory. Virginians had applied to the Legislature, at its first session in 1799, to be allowed to move into the Territory with their slaves; but that body firmly decided to prevent the establishment of slavery within its borders.

Since the peace of Greenville, the prosperity of Ohio had been unexampled. Congress had the progress of this Territory before it, and wisely rejected the desires of the pro-slavery petitioners

from Indiana. Numerous counter-petitions were also sent to Congress, and some pains taken to show that the wishes of the pro-slavery advocates were not those of the people of the Territory. This question gradually died out, although many of the original Indianians and their descendants shared the motives and sentiments of the slaveholders while the "institution" existed in this country. Finding that there was, beyond doubt, no chance for establishing slavery in Indiana, some of the citizens prepared to sell the negroes they held out of the Territory. In the spring of 1804, Governor Harrison issued a proclamation against such removal and sale.

At this day the powers of a governor of a State or Territory are quite limited as compared with those given to Governor Harrison. No governor, no one man, before or since his time, has had such authority, and such discretionary powers, conferred upon him in this country. No man ever had better opportunities for the advancement of fraudulent and private personal ends. And it may as well be said here that few, if any, public men have made a cleaner and more honorable record than did General Harrison. The Territory over which he had almost unlimited power was vast, with boundaries unfixed; and from early in 1803, to July, 1805, the upper part of Louisiana belonged to Indiana Territory, and he held jurisdiction over it, by appointment of President Jefferson. With the three judges of the Territory, he made the laws for governing the affairs

of the Territory, and these were to hold good until the formation of a Legislature. The people were wholly without any voice in conducting public affairs, or regulating the institutions of the Territory. He fixed the boundaries of new counties, and their seats; and appointed all their civil and military officers. The privilege of selecting general militia officers was, however, retained by the President. But the power to grant pardons was given to the Governor. He was also superintendent of Indian affairs, and the general agent and correspondent of the Government concerning all matters relating to the vast Territory over which he had charge. He was also appointed by the President as commissioner, with full power to treat with and buy the lands of the Indians. Besides his uncommon discretionary powers in this matter, he had charge of the moneys and annuities that went to these people.

The following is the President's message to Congress making this remarkable appointment:—

“I nominate William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, to be a commissioner to enter into any treaty or treaties which may be necessary, with any Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, and within the Territory of the United States, on the subject of boundary or lands.

“THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

This appointment was sent to the Senate February 3, 1803, and five days afterwards was unanimously confirmed. In the wonderful scope of authority given to Governor Harrison was the right

to settle the disputes arising from the old French grants and claims, and from his decision there was no appeal. The most difficult of these multifarious duties related to the Indians. The extent of the Territory, and the independent and roving character of many of the settlers, the established mode of trading with the Indians, the general disregard for their rights and their lives; the almost utter destruction of the game, without which the Indian could not live, by the hunters of that and neighboring Territories, and especially Kentucky; and the destructive and fatal use of whisky, rendered the Indians restless, and difficult to be satisfied; and their occasional murders, constant horse-stealing, and other depredations on the whites, kept the country in turmoil. More than all these was the evil influence of a certain agency on the northern border.

Every subject connected with the Indians, or concerning the Territory or the Government, he wrote about to the Secretary of War or the President. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the treaty of Greenville, and soon found that this treaty was liable to a construction which would greatly affect the land titles, and produce no little trouble with the Indians. In councils with the Indians as superintendent of their affairs, he discovered at once their uneasiness as to the fate of their lands, that the American, whose great, inveterate greed was for more land, would take all they had, if he could.



In a letter to the Secretary of War in the spring of 1802, Harrison fully set forth the restless condition of the savages, recommended steps to be taken at once to quiet them, and favored a council as general as could be brought about, as the best possible way of reconciling them by gifts and friendly words to the treaty of Greenville.

This council, proposed by Governor Harrison, was the preliminary step to the series of treaties which relieved the Indians of millions of acres of their land, and, to some extent, contributed to the battle of Tippecanoe, and toward the wide-spread hostility on the part of the Indians. Harrison had great difficulty in getting the Indians together, no small part of this difficulty being attributable to Alexander McKee, the British general Indian agent. McKee was greatly devoted to the interests of King George, and was not scrupulous as to the means he used. He was especially bitter against the United States, and lost no opportunity to impress upon the Indians the necessity of their rejecting all relations with the Americans and adhering to England. But at last the council met at Vincennes in September, 1802, with representatives present from six tribes. To them Governor Harrison delivered this speech:—

“My Children,—I have been, for a considerable time, desirous of having a general council composed of the chiefs and wise men of all the different tribes, whose concerns have been committed to my management, by your great father, the President of the United States. Since my first arrival in this country, you well know how extremely

anxious I have been to preserve peace and harmony, not only between you and your white brethren, but between each particular tribe of my red children. When the tomahawk was raised some time ago by some of your inconsiderate and rash young men, and your blood already began to flow, you know what pains I took to arrest the fury of the bloody weapon, and to bury it where I thought it would never again be found. My Children, the great tree of peace which was planted at Greenville, I have watered and cultivated with the greatest care, and I have cherished the hope that this tree would spread its branches over the whole of this great island, and that the white and red people would smoke the pipe of friendship under its shade till the end of time. But, in spite of all my care, this fair and flourishing tree has been severely wounded by the rash and inconsiderate young men of both colors; and but a very few weeks ago, it received a most terrible gash, and one which I much fear will endanger the very existence of those large branches which hang over the Illinois River. My Children, let us all exert ourselves to shield from future danger this sacred plant; let us cut off the branches which are withered and decayed, and extirpate the weeds which have hitherto retarded its growth, and then let us entwine our arms around its trunk, that the vicious and unruly may be unable to injure it. My Children, whilst your father, the President, was forming plans for your future happiness, and was communicating to me his directions on the subject of clearing your understandings, and making you acquainted with those arts by which the white people are enabled to live with so much ease and comfort, how much must he have been grieved and surprised to hear that two of his people had been murdered by some of those persons for whose welfare and happiness his thoughts were thus anxiously employed! Are these delightful plains, which were made by the Great Spirit to afford nourishment for his children, to be forever deluged

with blood? Will foolish men never learn that war and bloodshed are as offensive to the Maker of us all, as they are destructive of the happiness of those which might engage in it?

“My Children, aim your arrows at the buffalo, the bear, and the deer, which are provided for your use, but spare your brother-man; let those whom the Great Spirit has placed upon the same island live in peace with each other. Let the nations to whom it has pleased God to give an abundance of the comforts of life share them with their neighbors who may be deficient.

“My Children, by this principle your great father, the President of the United States, is strongly actuated; he bids me inform you that it is his ardent wish to see you prosperous and happy; he has directed me to take every means in my power to have you instructed in those arts which the Great Spirit has long ago communicated to the white people, and from which they derive food and clothing in abundance. My Children, some of you whom I now address are old and wise men, who have lived long enough to see that the kind of life you live is neither productive of happiness to yourselves, nor acceptable to the Great Spirit. You know the constant state of warfare in which you have lived has reduced some of your most powerful nations to a mere handful; and even in time of peace, the difficulty of procuring provisions at some seasons of the year is so great, that your women are unable to raise a sufficient number of children to supply the constant waste occasioned by the excessive use of that most pernicious liquor, whisky.

“My Children, the Great Spirit must assuredly have been angry with us when he discovered to man the mode of making this mischievous liquid. You well know the innumerable miseries which this fatal liquor has produced among you. Many of your young men spend the whole profit of their hunting in whisky, and their children and

old fathers are left to struggle with cold and hunger. Nay more, when reason is driven away by this intoxicating draught, what shocking scenes have been exhibited! The knife of a brother is aimed at a brother's life, and the tomahawk of the son is frequently buried in the head of his father; and those beautiful plains which were only to be stained by the blood of the deer and buffalo are crimsoned with the gore of your best chiefs and warriors.

"But, my Children, let us turn away our eyes from those shocking scenes, and let us unite our endeavors to introduce other manners amongst the generation which is now growing up.

"Your father, the President, has directed me to inform you that he wishes you to assemble your scattered warriors, and to form towns and villages, in situations best adapted to cultivation; he will cause you to be furnished with horses, cattle, hogs, and implements of husbandry, and will have persons provided to instruct you in the management of them. My Children, turn your thoughts seriously to this important object. You know that the game which afforded you subsistence is yearly becoming more scarce, and in a short time you will be left without resource, and your wives and children will in vain ask you for food. My Children, it is very easy for you to avoid this calamity. A great many years ago the white people subsisted as you do now upon the wild beasts of the forests. When those were becoming scarce, the Great Spirit communicated to them the method of raising grain for bread, and taught them to bring the ox and horse under their subjection, though they had been as wild as your deer and buffalo, and thus to assist them in cultivating the earth. My Children, our great Father, who lives in heaven, has admirably contrived this earth for the comfort and happiness of his children; but, from the beginning, he has made it a law that man should earn his food by his own exertions; the beasts of the forests can not be taken

without trouble and fatigue; nor can bread or clothing be made without considerable labor. It is necessary that the grain should be deposited in the earth, and the intruding beasts kept off, and the noxious weeds destroyed; the munificent Deity performs the rest. He sends the rain and the dew to fertilize the soil and give vigor to the tender plant, and causes the sun to ripen and perfect the fruit.

“There is nothing so pleasing to God as to see his children employed in the cultivation of the earth. He gave command to our ancestors to increase and multiply until the whole earth should be filled with inhabitants. But you must be sensible, my Children, that this command could not be obeyed if we were all to depend upon the chase for our subsistence. It requires an immense extent of country to supply a very few hunters with food, and the labor and fatigue which the wives of hunters undergo, and their constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, make the raising of a very few children a matter of the greatest difficulty. My Children, you may perhaps think that the plan I have recommended is too difficult to be effected, but you may depend upon it, that with the proper exertions on your part, there is no doubt of its success. The experiment has been fully tried with your brothers, the Creeks and Cherokees. Many individuals of the former have herds of cattle, consisting of some hundreds, together with an abundance of corn and vegetables. This has had a most happy effect on their population, and all their wigwams are already filled with children. At any rate, let me entreat you to make the experiment for the sake of the rising generation; although it may be difficult for an old man to change entirely the mode of life in which he has been brought up, with children it is otherwise; they can be formed to anything, can be made to assume any shape, like the young shoots of the willow or the tender branches of the vine.”



But the council was not harmonious, although the final arrangements were satisfactory to the chiefs. The claim presented by the Governor to an extensive tract of land around Vincennes as ceded to the Wabash Company and M. de Vincennes, was violently rejected by the Indians, and for very good reasons, as the Governor found during the discussion of the subject. Feeling fully disposed to do justice to the Indians, and not thinking himself authorized to sign a treaty, a memorandum was made and four chiefs designated to meet any agents appointed by the President at Fort Wayne, in the next year, and there conclude the treaty on the basis of the memorandum. This agreement was signed at Vincennes, September 17, 1802, by chiefs of the Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, Piankeshaws, Pottawatomies, Eel Rivers, and Weas (Miamis). This memorandum embraced the use of the salt spring on Saline River by the whites as long as the Great Spirit caused the water to flow. The disposition of the Government was, for a time, to lease this spring, but Harrison opposed this idea, as leading to constant misunderstandings with the Indians, and favored buying it. His views were adopted at Washington, and finally the title passed from the Indians entirely.

The difficulties of Governor Harrison in keeping peace between the settlers and Indians were greatly increased by the prevailing sentiment that it was not a punishable offense to kill an Indian. Most of the Indian murders were committed by hunters from remote regions, and besides the ordinary difficulties

in reaching these murderers, people in communities where they lived resisted any attempt on the part of civil officers to make arrests. In 1802, three hunters from Kentucky murdered an Indian family in Indiana. Governor Harrison sent an officer to Kentucky, who succeeded in bringing one of the murderers to Vincennes. But, in a few days, white sympathizers released him from jail. Harrison offered a reward for the rearrest and conviction of this man and his accomplices, and made every possible exertion to convince the Indians that he earnestly wished to carry out the desires of the Government to have justice done them under all circumstances. Yet nothing came of it, nor did the Indians believe there would be any thing done to correct these evils, when white men would not testify against a white man if an Indian was concerned.

Governor Harrison was appointed to his exceedingly responsible position by President Adams, the Federalist; reappointed twice by Mr. Jefferson and once by Mr. Madison. He also filled, for a short time, an important trust under the younger Adams; a place from which he was removed in hot haste by the "Hero of New Orleans," who had no respect for his military ability. But, of all these men, Harrison was more like Jefferson, and liked Jefferson most. When Mr. Jefferson was only Vice-President, Harrison consulted him before entering upon his task as Governor of Indiana Territory.

In the fall and winter of 1802 Indian depredations were numerous, and bands of Kickapoos, Pottawat-

omies, who had not been in the Treaty of Greenville, and the Sacs and Foxes, who had yet no annuities from the United States, showed constant signs of hostility. American trading-posts, by authority of the Government, now began to be established among the Indians. This course on the part of the United States proved to be very disagreeable or offensive to the Canadian Britons, who had not yet settled down to the fact that the United States was a power which they needed to be particular in respecting. The United States Indian trading system was established on the plan of honorable exchange, with no view of making profits. This the British did not like, as it was not their plan, had they been disposed to share the trade with these shiftless people, which they were not. From this time until after the War of 1812, the agents of England became a chief element in the Indian depredations, massacres, and wars of the border. Governor Harrison was vigilant, and kept his agents and speeches passing backward and forward to near and remote tribes, apprising them of his good-will, and urging them to give up murderers and thieves, and leave off their bad practices, and be faithful to their obligations to the United States, their true friend. One of these agents was a friendly chief, who had some reputation as an orator. On his return he made this speech to Governor Harrison:—

“My Father, you have always told me the truth; I relied entirely on you; I can not tell how much I was astonished to find that you have now deceived me. You

sent me with a talk to the Kickapoos; that talk had nothing but good words in it; but you sent another man (Mr. Parke) round by the Illinois to carry a very bad talk. At every village that I visited I was told that your young man had circulated bad talks. He told the Indians that the land they lived on was not theirs, it belonged to the white people, and that he had come to take possession of it. The chiefs answered him that they had never heard so before, and that General Wayne had told them no such thing; upon which your young man said that General Washington and General Wayne were both dead, and that if the land was not granted by the Treaty of Greenville, the white chiefs now in power were determined to have it, and he had come to tell them so."

Parke had fallen into the hands of bad interpreters, who in their own or British interests, had made fire-brands out of his harmless and friendly speeches. These scamps infested the country, and the good speeches sent from time to time by the Governor to the Indians, always met adverse constructions at their hands. But by far the greatest enemy of the red race at this time, as it always has been of the white, was whisky. Civilization, so called, introduced it to both races, and the insatiable greed for land, for money, on the part of the white man, rode down every moral and just consideration with him in pouring it down the throats of a race, perhaps, more under the control of brutal appetites, certainly more generally so. In drunken brawls, not only individuals, but also whole families, and even bands and parts of tribes were killed and swept out of existence. Many of the chiefs appealed to Governor

Harrison, appealed to the Government, to stop the traffic among their people. Its sale and the ravages it was committing were one of the great and best grounds of complaint against the dealings of the Government with them; and it was often made the ground of murderous assaults on the white settlements, as it was also of threats of general outbreaks. The case became so alarming that Congress finally passed a law to prevent the sale of whisky by the traders to the Indians. But this step was taken only from the urgent and oft-repeated demands of the uncivilized Indian chiefs themselves.

In the fall of 1802, Governor Harrison issued his proclamation forbidding the sale of whisky to the Indians by anybody in his Territory. The law was not clear as to the interdiction, and taking advantage of this, and following his own inclinations and convictions of what it should be, he ordered its sale to Indians to be utterly stopped in the Territory. He had repeatedly apprised the Administration at Washington of the evils of the whisky-traffic among the Indians, and stood with the chiefs in their petitions to have it stopped. Harrison had not only seen its calamitous effects among the Indians, but he had lived at Fort Washington when about the only pastimes (in itself a detestable word) by the soldiers and the men in the little community of Cincinnati surrounding the Fort, were card-playing and whisky-drinking; and where he was one of the very few who were not debauched or wrecked by them.

In April, 1803, now having received almost



unlimited powers to treat with the Indians, as sole commissioner, Governor Harrison started up the Wabash to meet the Indians at Fort Wayne, according to the agreement signed by them at Vincennes on the previous September. He visited the Indian towns on his way, and not finding the Indians or the annuities at Fort Wayne, he went on to Detroit. On this trip he learned his first lesson as to the frailty and uncertainties of Government contractors, if he had not learned a similar one in the campaign with Wayne, or at Fort Washington. When he returned to Fort Wayne most of the Indians had not yet appeared, and only by threatening to distribute the annuities among those present did he finally bring in the Shawnees and Delawares. Even the chiefs, who had signed the plan of the treaty, now to be executed, at Vincennes, were with difficulty brought in. Little Turtle and the Pottawatomie chiefs were the only Indians who seemed at all disposed to carry out the Vincennes Memorandum. But after a tedious and exasperating council, from which, on one occasion or more, the Shawnee and Delaware chiefs withdrew in great anger, he finally closed the treaty in June, satisfactorily, adding to the United States several million acres of land, on a small annuity of less than four hundred dollars. A miserable pittance indeed, to pay these poor people for their lands! But it was better than to whip them out of them. Then too, the land was nothing to boast of; although much of it was exceedingly rich, yet much of it was composed of vile malarial swamps,

and it was then and for many years afterwards in the very center of one of the most insidious of all the infernal squad of malarial foes of human life and happiness, "chill and fever."

At Vincennes in August of that year he effected another treaty, still curtailing the Indian possessions, for small considerations of money and other annuities quite to the savage taste.

Harrison was now greatly disgusted with the workings of his anti-whisky proclamation. The law on the subject was largely a failure. It only applied to the territory of the Indians, but not that of the United States. Traders and scoundrels took advantage of this to introduce it where Indian titles were extinguished by the new treaties, and where the Indians still lived, and the Indians themselves avoided the law in every way to get the whisky. They had been bitten too long and deeply by this "venomous worm of the still," and like the so-called civilized, enlightened, and Christianized white brother, they would return to it, maugre heaven and earth, to be bitten again, and be bitten to death. About this whisky business the Britons had no such scruples as Governor Harrison and his Government had. They went on the charity of giving it to the Indian to keep him from taking cold from exposure under the necessity of his peculiar mode of living, in the frozen winters; and in the hot summers they gave it to him to prevent injury to his tender and exposed frame by the heat! It was one of the ameliorating conditions of his wretched life that he could have King George's

whisky, and have plenty of it! It was the best road to civilized society and perfect manhood! A dram of British whisky before and after murdering an American or stealing his horse, would take all sense of offense from the savage brain!

On this subject, after some of the enraged chiefs had broken up a good British whisky missionary, it is claimed that Alexander McKee, the indomitable Indian Agent, actually did deliver to the offenders the following temperance lecture and commentary on the conduct of the people of the United States:—

“My Children, I am surprised that you should rob one of your father’s traders; the man of whom you took the liquor lately was an Englishman, and sent to trade among you by me. I told him to take some liquor with him to give to the chiefs among my children on the St. Joseph’s (of Lake Michigan), a dram in cold weather, when they came to see him, but not to sell any to you.

My Children, it is true that the Americans do not wish you to drink any spirituous liquors; therefore they have told their traders that they should not carry any liquors into your country; but, my children, they have no right to say that one of your father’s traders among you should carry no liquor among his children.

“My Children, your father, King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children to be supplied with everything they want. He is not like the Americans who are continually blinding your eyes and stopping your ears with good words that taste as sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you. My Children, should you yet have any of the liquor that you took from the Englishman, I wish you to return it to him immediately. My Children, I am told that Wells has told you that it was your interest to suffer no liquor to come into

your country. You all well know that he is a bad man. You all well know the injuries he did you before you made peace with the Long Knives, by taking and killing your men, women, and children."

The benevolent Englishman had certainly taken a burdensome quantity of whisky out with him, too much for so limited purposes of charity and brotherly love! For the outraged chiefs had destroyed twenty barrels of it; and the necessity for its destruction showed that he had been using it for purposes not mentioned in the original pretensions. A whet in private after the style of a class of the more cautious and exclusive among their superior, white, Christian brothers, had not satisfied or appeased these chiefs. They knew this enemy of their race, and were equal to the emergency. No more efficient crusaders have arisen with the same intentions, in these latter days.

McKee's traders understood his advice and knew what to do with it. Nor did British agents lose an opportunity to say something to the Indians detrimental to their friendship for the Americans. But it will strike the careful reader as a fact worthy of note, that in this particular the Americans were not overly charitable and modest.

General Wayne took occasion to warn the Indians against heeding the advice of the bad men at the foot of the Rapids; and in the recent council at Fort Wayne Governor Harrison made a very direct and persistent effort to impress upon the minds of the Indians the evil intentions and machinations of the

British, and urge them to turn a deaf ear to all their professions and representations. Hardly any wickedness of a general character was committed by the Indians which the people of the United States did not lay to the account of England. Nor were they slow in putting these views before the Indians. It was no doubt bad enough, but the British were accused of many a thing which did not originate with them. It never could be charged against the Americans, however, that they recommended the Indians, by a word or thought, to go to war with any people, or to hostile relations with them, or held forth the inducement that they would be their allies in any emergency. The account of talk, back-biting, and slander was never balanced between the British and the Americans. But in a mere comparison on the grounds of big talk and boasting, the Americans stood a little ahead, perhaps.

At the treaty at Fort Wayne in June, 1803; in August of that year, at Vincennes; in August, 1804, at Vincennes; in November of the same year, at St. Louis; in August and December of the following year, at or near Vincennes; and at other times, so many as thirteen in all, Harrison made "treaties" with the Pottawatomie, Kickapoo, Wea, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia, Delaware, Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Miami, and other Indian tribes, by which they gave up their lands on the Ohio, and vast areas on the Wabash and Mississippi. One great difficulty always in the way of reaching peaceful results in these treaties, or land purchases, was in determining their ownership.



The Miamis, on account of the strength of their tribe, claimed that no tribe belonging to their confederacy had a right to sell lands without their consent. And some of the Indians, following in the footsteps of Pontiac, held that no nation or tribe had a right to sell land without the consent of all the others. In fact, that the Indians had no right, separately or jointly, to sell any of the lands; that the lands were given to them by the Great Spirit for a perpetual abode for the red man, and that He was already angry with them for what they had done in parting with their ancient domain.

But these positions were not well founded. Indian confederacies, with one or two exceptions, never had amounted to any thing beyond a temporary war. The Miami Confederacy had lost its character, as such, long before the organization of the Indiana Territory. At the treaty of Greenville it was not recognized, the separate tribes which had composed it representing themselves, or being represented by their most friendly neighbors. In these disputed claims it was generally found that tribes not originally holding lands in this region had actually acquired them by gift, or otherwise, from other tribes, and had the right to dispose of them as they saw fit. The opposition of Little Turtle, the leading Miami chief, grew out of the failure of other tribes, or the commissioner, to consult him in these treaties. This extensive Territory, to which Governor Harrison adroitly managed to extinguish the Indian titles, extended far up the Wisconsin River, includ-

ing Indiana, Illinois, and a great part of Wisconsin. By the terms of the treaties much of it was to be occupied by the Indians, as their hunting-grounds, as long as the lands remained in the possession of the United States. It was always provided in these treaties that the Indians should not sell lands to any other power, or to any individual, but the United States. Another serious subterfuge of the Indians, in getting rid of treaty stipulations, was that the chiefs who made the treaties were irresponsible, young, or self-constituted negotiators. On this ground Black Hawk, twenty or thirty years afterwards, denied the validity of the treaty on the part of the Sacs and Foxes with Harrison at St. Louis in 1804. In the main, the prices paid the Indians for their lands by Governor Harrison were ridiculously low. Perhaps it may be justly said, unfairly low. The price of Government lands, these same lands, was two dollars an acre. Yet much of this very land, which Harrison was now acquiring for the United States, did not yield the original owners but a small fraction of a cent an acre. Twenty-five years later the Government took a wider and better view of these dealings with the Indians. The reservations made to them, here and there, over the country, were, to a great extent, allowed to increase in value with the surrounding country. The Ohio Shawnees, who held their reservation at Wapahkonnetta until 1831, in that year sold out to the United States, moving west of the Mississippi. But in this sale they were deceived;

and the leading men, with their Quaker missionary friends, went to Washington, and made an appeal to President Jackson. They went to the wrong man. General Jackson had little respect for Indian complaints, or Indian rights, and now gave no favor to the desire of these people for a new treaty, or additional compensation for their lands. Congress was, however, induced to take up the matter, and an addition of nearly a million dollars was made to the price of their lands. Subsequently the Shawnees were treated very generously by the Government, as in fact, in the main, has been done with all the Indians. In a careful examination of this question it will appear also that although, in the early Indian "treaties," the prices paid the Indians for their lands were simply scandalous and absurd, yet the Government, in a sense, always considered them as its helpless wards; and paid them annuities, and never ceased to look after and provide for them to some extent, notwithstanding the limited obligations of the "treaties." Then, too, the annuities, though small, continued indefinitely. From this necessary guardianship, more than from inferior intelligence and civilization, did they become the red children of the Nation, and the Presidents, the Great Fathers at Washington.

During Governor Harrison's administration of Indian affairs in the northwest, some tribes of these poor people had dwindled to a mere handful of men, women, and children, living in mortal fear of the yet stronger bands around them, and

ready at all times to swear out peace warrants from the Government for their lives. As early as 1803, the Kaskaskias were in this condition, and others had passed away in a tribal sense. This little band of Kaskaskias were led by a good old chief, Ducoigne, and were all Catholics. In the "treaty" with him, in 1803, Governor Harrison obligated the Government to help build a church for his people, and pay one hundred dollars a year to the priest who should lead them in spiritual or churchly things; and to build a house for the chief, and fence in a big corn-field of a hundred acres.

In a letter to the Secretary of War, Harrison wrote in these words about this:—

"Ducoigne's long and well-proved friendship for the United States, of which the President is well informed, has gained him the hatred of all the other chiefs, and ought to be an inducement with us to provide as well for his happiness as his safety. He wishes to have some coffee, sugar, and chocolate sent to him, and is also desirous to have a ten-gallon keg of wine, to show, as he says, the other Indians how well he is treated by the United States, and how much like a gentleman he lives. I have published proposals for building his house and fence. Upon consulting with him we agreed that it would be better to fence in a field of fifteen acres only at first, which is full as much as his tribe will cultivate, and add to it occasionally, so as to give the quantity of fencing promised in the treaty."

## CHAPTER VII.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT OF INDIANA—GOVERNOR  
HARRISON'S SPEECH TO THE FIRST LEGISLA-  
TURE—THE INDIAN—PREPARATION FOR  
WAR—TECUMSEH—OLLIWACHICA.

THERE were two ways of satisfying the Indians for offenses, even murders, committed against them by white people. One was to give up the offenders to be punished by them, and the other, to pay them any amount that could be agreed upon as an equivalent. As the first could not be resorted to by Governor Harrison, the latter method became his last resort frequently, as he could seldom get a jury of white men who would agree that there were offenses against Indians. The sums paid by the Governor for the murder of a single Indian, or a whole family, were wonderfully small, like those paid for the immense tracts of lands.

In 1803, Louisiana was purchased under the direction of Mr. Jefferson, and the upper part of that territory was put by the President under the control of Governor Harrison, greatly enlarging and complicating his already exceptional duties and powers. This trust remained in his charge until the summer of 1805. No small part of Governor Harrison's



duties consisted in efforts to keep the Indians at peace among themselves. In 1805, he made a trip to St. Louis about the time of being relieved from the care of that territory, to effect a reconciliation and treaty between the Osage, Sac, Kickapoo, and Pottawatomie Indians. And although he succeeded, this, like many other affairs of Indian faith, was soon broken by the Pottawatomies. In this year, too, he made another diminution of the Indian lands by a "treaty" at Vincennes, at this time by order of the Administration, uniting the Miamis, Weas, and Eel River Indians in one tribe, and so to be recognized by the Government. By this "treaty," the good-will of Little Turtle was again restored to the Governor, to whom he had long been a great friend.

In 1805, there were found to be five thousand free white inhabitants in the Territory of Indiana, and accordingly, by the provisions of the organizing act of 1787, the Governor issued his proclamation for the election of Representatives to form a Legislature. These Representatives met and selected ten persons whose names were sent to Washington. From these, the President was to choose five persons to form an Upper House, or Governor's Council. But President Jefferson declined to take the responsibility, and left the selection to Governor Harrison, simply requesting that "land-jobbers, dishonest men, and those who, though honest, might suffer themselves to be warped by party prejudices," should be omitted in making the appointments.

The first Legislature of Indiana met at Vincennes, July 29, 1805, and on the next day Governor Harrison delivered his first message. The Governor had been foremost in the efforts to establish the legislative form of the Territory. Before, all power, including the legislative had been in his own hands and those of the three judges of the supreme court. Yet he had greatly desired to reach a more republican and popular degree of government for the country notwithstanding the loss of power to him. The following extract from his message will show his own feelings on the occasion, and, to some extent, indicate the scope and spirit of his administration:—

“The sincerity of the congratulations which I offer you, fellow-citizens, upon entering upon a grade of government which gives to the people the important right of legislating for themselves, is sufficiently manifested by the ready sanction I have given to their wishes, and the promptitude with which the organization has been effected. The long and protracted investigation which preceded the first adoption of this measure, on the part of your constituents, proclaims it to be the result of deliberation and reflection, and exhibits a temper and judgment which do them great honor, and can not fail to produce the most salutary effects. On you, however, it rests, gentlemen, to realize the wishes of those who were friendly to the second grade of government, to disappoint the fears of its enemies, and to show that every approximation towards a republican system is attended with a certain and solid advantage. Our means, however, are far from being equal to the support of an expensive establishment; and it would be equally impolitic and unjust to tax the incipient exertions of the settlers with

more than they could conveniently pay; and it would have the certain effect of diverting from us the tide of emigration, upon which are founded all our hopes of political emancipation."

Both branches of the Legislature (the Council and the House of Representatives) then sent short replies to this message. In that of the Council are these peculiar and direct words:—

"The confidence which our fellow-citizens have uniformly had in your administration has been such that they have hitherto had no reason to be jealous of the unlimited power which you possess over our legislative proceedings. We, however, can not help regretting that such powers have been lodged in the hands of any one, especially when it is recollected to what dangerous lengths the exercise of those powers may be extended."

And the House wrote:—

"Accept, sir, the thanks of the House of Representatives for the speech you made to both Houses of the Legislature on the opening of the present sessions. In it we discern the solicitude for the future happiness and prosperity of the Territory which has been uniformly evinced by your past administration."

In a short letter from Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, to Governor Harrison, in October, 1805, is found this instruction:—

"I am directed by the President of the United States to request you to close a bargain, as soon as it can be effected, with the Piankeshaws, for their claims to the lands between the Wabash and the eastern boundary of the Kaskaskia cession, as proposed in your letter of

August 26th, on such reasonable terms as have been usual in that quarter; and for any sums which may be necessary for the prompt payment, you will please draw on this Department. I hope we shall soon hear of a favorable result from St. Louis.

“Your explanation with —, resulting in a confident hope of future good conduct on his part, and mutual harmony hereafter, is not uninteresting. That he had been playing a foolish, and what he thought a cunning, game, I have no doubt.”

This purchase was soon afterwards effected under a reasonable arrangement, and the Piankeshaws relinquished their title to lands fast becoming worthless to them. About this time a new source of difficulty arose among the Indians, which required the attention of Governor Harrison. Soon after the treaty of Greenville, two Shawnees, of whom little had before been known, began to attract attention. They were twin-brothers. Several years before the general peace of 1795, however, Tecumseh, one of them, had been noted, to some extent, as a bold murderer and plunderer of white men. He had an uncommonly deep hatred toward the whites, and spent the greater part of his time, after reaching his twenty-first year, in stealing upon and plundering and murdering unsuspecting explorers and settlers, or in leading daring bands to the borders of Kentucky or along the Ohio River. The peace of Greenville was distasteful to him in every respect. By it he lost his occupation; and then, it was contrary to his principles that the race to which he belonged should sell their lands, or in

any way have communication with the whites. Besides his warlike qualities, he was what the Indians called an orator. Since the days of Pontiac, he combined in his character, more than any other Indian, the elements to distinguish him as an enemy of the white race.

The brother of Tecumseh, or, as the Indians spoke, Tecumthe, Olliwachica (Olliwayshila, or El-skawatawa), otherwise usually called the Prophet, was a talker of ability, and a man of great cunning, as well as bravery.

These two brothers quietly, and in all probability without aid from any source, formed a scheme for uniting all the Indian tribes, from the Lakes to the Gulf, in a firm league, having mainly for its object resistance to the advance of the whites upon the ancient homes of the red race. Religion, often made the means of wicked schemes, was now first to be the instrument in the hands of the Prophet for arousing the dormant spirit of his race. His movements, for a time, were slow. But boldly announcing himself as a Prophet, especially endowed with superhuman traits, and commissioned to lead his people into the ancient purity of the race, by the Great Spirit, he was not long in gaining followers. And, unlike prophets usually, those who first listened to his villainies were of his kindred, his neighbors, and his own nation.

The Shawnees considered themselves superior to all the other Indians, and were unable to see why they might not all have been prophets, if the Great



Spirit had approved of the plan. After a time, however, the wonderful promises of the Prophet not being realized with such rapidity as seemed desirable to his lazy adherents, his reputation flourished better among distant tribes, from whence, now and then, came an enthusiastic follower.

During the first years of this bold scheme, Tecumseh remained comparatively quiet. The great object was first to establish the prophetic authority of Olliwachica. When his word became as that of the Great Spirit, their task would be easy. The chiefs of the tribes generally stood in their way, and it soon became apparent that they must get rid of this hindrance. Tecumseh went among the tribes, not only supporting his brother's claims as a prophet, but also telling the young warriors that they must take things into their own hands, or the old chiefs would soon sell all of their lands, so that they would not have left a corn-field, or a spot for the bones of their rapidly diminishing race. Although all the Indian prophets had been wizards of the most hypocritical and mischievous character, nothing was ever more hated and dreaded among the Indians than witchcraft. This was the device now for clearing the way of the old chiefs, and the first to cry witch was this young scoundrel of a prophet. At once the work began, and two or three old chiefs friendly to the whites, of the Wyandot and Delaware tribes, were murdered for the demon of witchcraft.

Among the Shawnees the Prophet had cunningly

started the old tradition, that they were the first and greatest tribe of people on earth, and that they were now to be restored to their former position. This increased his followers among them. A proud old Shawnee chief had presented the theory of their rise and fall to General Harrison at Fort Wayne, in 1803, in the following language:—

“The Master of Life, who was himself an Indian, made the Shawnees before any others of the human race, and they sprang from his brain. The Master of Life gave them all the knowledge which he himself possessed. He placed them upon the great island; and all the other red people are descended from the Shawnees. He made the French and English out of his breast. The Dutch he made out of his feet. As for your Long Knives kind, he made them out of his hands. All those inferior races of men he made white, and placed them beyond the great lake.

“The Shawnees were masters of the continent for many ages, using the knowledge which they had received from the Great Spirit in such a manner as to be pleasing to him, and to secure their own happiness. In a great length of time, however, they became corrupt, and the Master of Life told them he would take away from them the knowledge they possessed, and give it to the white people; to be restored when, by a return to good principles, they would deserve it.

“Many years after that, they saw something white approaching their shores. At first they took it for a great bird, but they soon found it to be a monstrous canoe, filled with the very people who had got the knowledge which belonged to the Shawnees; but they usurped their lands also. They pretended, indeed, to have purchased their lands; but the very goods which they gave for them were more the property of the Indians than of

the white people, because the knowledge which enabled them to manufacture these goods actually belonged to the Shawnees.

“But these things will now have an end. The Master of Life is about to restore to the Shawnees both their knowledge and their rights; and he will trample the Long Knives under his feet.”

All this business, coming to the ear of Governor Harrison, in 1806, with a view to arresting its progress he sent this speech to the Delawares, who were acknowledged to be the grandfathers of all the other tribes, on account of their wisdom:—

“My Children,—My heart is filled with grief, and my eyes are dissolved in tears at the news which has reached me. You have been celebrated for your wisdom above all the tribes of red people who inhabit this great island. Your fame as warriors has extended to the remotest nations, and the wisdom of your chiefs has gained for you the appellation of grandfathers from all the neighboring tribes. . . . My Children, tread back the steps you have taken, and endeavor to regain the straight road you have abandoned. The dark, crooked, and thorny one that you are now pursuing will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. Is he more wise or virtuous than you are yourselves, that he should be selected to convey to you the orders of your God? Demand of him some proofs, at least of his being the messenger of the Deity. If God has really employed him, he has doubtless authorized him to perform some miracles, that he may be known and received as a prophet. If he is really a prophet, ask of him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves. If he does these things, you may then

believe that he has been sent from God. . . . My Children, do not believe that the great and good Creator of mankind has directed you to destroy your own flesh; and do not doubt that, if you pursue this abominable wickedness, His vengeance will overtake and crush you."

During the summer and fall of 1807, Tecumseh and the Prophet were very active, and the signs were that they were meeting with unusual success. By this time it was pretty certain that Alex. McKee, the good British agent, had been taken into the scheme, and had given it his sanction. The agent at Fort Wayne, who was not above suspicion as to all of his conduct, informed the Governor by letter that vast numbers were passing and returning from visits to the Prophet, and that the signs were ominous. Another thing that helped the matter on, Mr. Jefferson had been pestered by some Quakers, who, since the days of William Penn, at least, have been able in their own imaginations, to do good things in better ways than any other people, to allow them, at an expense to the Government of \$6,000 a year, to try the introduction of more fashionable dresses, agricultural implements, and other civilized things, among the Indians on the Wabash. Mr. Kirke, who had appeared at Fort Wayne on this business, and made the scheme of the Quakers and the Great Father known, had been politely notified by the chiefs that they would not embark in the enterprise. This result was one of the unfavorable signs of the growing influence of Tecumseh and the Prophet. This project of the good Quakers was directly in the way



of the new religion the Prophet was teaching, one of the corner-stones of which was that the Indians should return to the traditions of their fathers, and eschew the innovations of the white race. Although the Indian agent at Fort Wayne was accused or suspected of being at the bottom of the refusal of the Indians to take up with the proffer of Mr. Kirke, it is not at all likely that he had anything to do with the case. He stated that his feelings were in harmony with Kirke's business, and that he would give it another trial, with no charge for his services, if it were desired by the President. Had he advised the decision of the Indians, it would have been entirely beyond their nature and power to keep the secret.

In this speech to the Legislature, the Governor, in referring to the necessities of the militia organization of the Territory, said:—

“The deficiency of arms and accouterments throughout every corps of the army is, however, truly alarming and disgraceful. Men in easy circumstances are not ashamed to appear upon the parade without a firelock, or bearing one which would be more harmless to an enemy than the sticks carried by others. Whilst we should pity, and endeavor from the public purse to furnish those who are unable to supply themselves, those who are able, and neglect to equip themselves, should be denied the honorable appellation of defenders of their country.”

After descanting in the most animated strain on the conduct of England and the prospects of a war with that nation, the Governor says:—

“We are, indeed, from our situation, peculiarly interested in the contest which is likely to ensue; for who does



not know that the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage are always employed as the instruments of British vengeance? At this moment, fellow-citizens, as I sincerely believe, their agents are organizing a combination amongst the Indians within our limits, for the purpose of assassination and murder. And if these, their worthy allies, are not let loose to slaughter our women and children, it will not proceed from the humanity and mercy of a nation which vainly boasts of her attainments in every art and science. At this important crisis but one sentiment should animate the breast of every true American. Disregarding every personal consideration, he should think only of the tie which binds him to his country; and confiding in the wisdom and firmness of his Government, he should patiently wait the signal which calls him to the field."

The Governor was called "His Excellency," and after the style of Washington and Adams delivered his message in a speech. The little Legislature then made a written reply. At this time, the members of the House of Representatives were fully up to the patriotism of the soldierly Governor. They replied that they saw in his speech "nothing more than those true and independent principles which compose the patriotic heart;" and declared that "until the last drop of blood shall be drained from our hearts, we will defend ourselves, our rising posterity, and the freedom of America!"

That is it, sir! That must have been exactly after "His Excellency's" own heart! These primeval Hoosiers were Romans, every one!

Governor Harrison now turned his attention more than ever to watching the movements of the Indians,

and in zealous efforts to keep them faithful to their treaties and friendly relations with the United States. Early in 1808, he sent a speech to the Shawnees in which he accused them of bad faith, and of plotting against the whites, and said :—

“My Children, you promised in that treaty (of Greenville) to acknowledge no other father than the chief of the Seventeen Fires, and never to listen to the proposition of any foreign nation. You promised never to lift up the tomahawk against any of your father’s children, and to give him notice of any other tribe that intended it. Your father also promised to do something for you, particularly to deliver to you every year a quantity of goods; to prevent any white man from settling upon your lands without your consent, or to do you any personal injury. He promised to run a line between your land and his, so that you might know your own; and you were to be permitted to live and hunt upon your father’s lands, as long as you behaved yourselves well. My Children, which of those articles has your father broken? You know that he has observed them all with the utmost good faith. But, my Children, have you done so? Have you not always had your ears open to receive bad advice from the white people beyond the Lakes? My Children, let us look back to times that are past. It has been a long time since you called the king of Great Britain father. You know that it is the duty of a father to watch over his children, to give them good advice, and to do everything in his power to make them happy. What has this father of yours done for you during the long time that you have looked up to him for protection and advice? Are you wiser and happier than you were before you knew him? or is your nation stronger or more respectable? No, my Children, he took you by the hand when you were a powerful tribe; you held him fast, supposing that he was your friend, and he

conducted you through paths filled with thorns and briers, which tore your flesh and shed your blood. Your strength was exhausted, and you could no longer follow him. Did he stay by you in your distress, and assist and comfort you? No, he led you into dangers, and then abandoned you. . . . The voice of your deceiver is again heard, and, forgetful of your former sufferings, you are again listening to him. My Children, this business must be stopped. I will no longer suffer it. You have called a number of men from the most distant tribes to listen to a fool, who speaks not the word of the Great Spirit, but those of the devil, and of the British agents. My Children, your conduct has much alarmed the white settlers near you. They desire that you will send away those people; and if they wish to have the impostor with them, they can carry him. Let him go to the Lakes; he can hear the British more distinctly."

To this highly figurative and dramatic speech the Prophet, in the absence of the chiefs, sent this curt reply:—

"Father! I am sorry that you listen to the advice of bad birds. You have impeached me with having correspondence with the English, and with calling and sending for the Indians from the most distant parts of the country, 'to listen to a fool that speaks not the words of the Great Spirit, but the words of the devil.'

"Father! These impeachments I deny, and say they are not true. I never had a word with the English, and I never sent for any Indians. They came here themselves, to listen and hear the words of the Great Spirit.

"Father! I wish you would not listen any more to the voice of bad birds; and you may rest assured that it is the least of our ideas to make disturbance; and we will rather try to stop such proceedings than encourage them."

Not long after this, in August, the Prophet visited Governor Harrison at Vincennes, and staid with him two weeks. All this time he appeared exceedingly cordial and frank, and very religious, so that the Governor not only did not find out whether the British, according to his theory, were at the foundation of his movements, or not; but the Prophet gained upon his favor, and almost led him to dismiss his suspicions, and doubt the very facts his agents had laid before him. But this was of short duration. When the Prophet was gone, all the Governor's suspicions arose again, and his active exertions to thwart him were renewed.

The Governor now renewed his efforts to have the militia properly organized and equipped, urging the Government to give every possible aid. All the facts he could gain, and many surmises and hearsays, he carefully laid before the Administration in letters to the Secretary of War; and in October of 1808, he was notified to have his part of the large militia force ordered by Congress ready for service at any time.

As the end of Mr. Jefferson's Administration approached, there was some anxiety touching the views his successor might entertain as to the governorship of Indiana Territory. This office was held for three years, by the Ordinance of 1787. On the organization of Indiana, President Adams had appointed Mr. Harrison, the friend of Jefferson, as its first Governor. And Mr. Jefferson had twice reappointed him. After Mr. Madison had

entered the Presidential office, petitions were sent in from the Territory asking the continuance of Governor Harrison in the position he had now held, with great advantage to the country, for nine years. In one of these from the House of Representatives are these words:—

“They can not forbear from recommending to, and requesting of, the President and Senate, most earnestly, in their names, and in the names of their constituents, the reappointment of their present Governor, William Henry Harrison—because they are sensible he possesses the good wishes and affection of a great majority of his fellow-citizens; because they believe him sincerely attached to the Union, the prosperity of the United States, and the Administration of its Government; because they believe him, in a superior degree, capable of promoting the interest of our Territory, from long experience, and laborious attention to our general concerns, from his influence over the Indians, and his wise and disinterested management of that department; and because they have confidence in his virtues, talents, and republicanism.”

But there was little need of any demonstration on this point. Governor Harrison was of the same general politics as Mr. Madison; and if he had not been it would have mattered very little, so long as he performed the duties of his office well. These were, indeed, the golden days of office-holding in the United States. Mr. Jefferson had done something at removing men from place for opinion's sake, but not much. And his predecessors and three next successors considered it disgraceful to remove public officials for political reasons only, and did not do it.



In the case of Governor Harrison he had certainly more than come up to the expectations of the country, and the Administrations under which he had served. His conduct towards the citizens, and in making laws and managing the general affairs of the Territory, had been very satisfactory to the people; his knowledge of, and taste for, military affairs were greatly in his favor. His knowledge of the Indians and their general respect for him; his remarkable successes in treating with them, and buying their lands; and the broad and liberal views he had taken, mainly, in the way of laying the foundation for educational and political advancement of the future State; his conduct had, in fact, in every way recommended him to the people of the Territory, as well as to the Government. His authority had been extravagant, but he had exercised it with discretion and delicacy where the feelings and preferences of the citizens were concerned. Yet his policy was not unanimously supported, either as to the whites or the Indians. William McIntosh, a Scotchman, residing at Vincennes, not only charged him with cheating the Indians out of their lands, but also of driving them into war by his course toward them. Harrison was a man who seldom allowed charges against his character to go unnoticed. He brought suit against McIntosh, and although very modest and cautious steps were taken to give McIntosh a fair trial, the best possible opportunity to prove his charges, the verdict was against him. The amount of damages was fixed at \$4,000, and a great part of his land

sold, in the absence of the Governor, to satisfy an execution to recover the amount. A considerable portion of the land the Governor subsequently returned to his accuser, and the remainder he had appropriated to some charity.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## FIRST LEGISLATURE OF INDIANA — HARRISON AND TECUMSEH—THE PROPHET AND A CONFEDERACY.

THE code of Indiana, adopted in 1807, was severe and exacting. Horse-stealing, murder, arson, and treason were crimes punishable by death; robbery was punishable, sometimes, by imprisonment for forty years; several crimes were punishable by whipping; and swearing, gambling, and Sabbath-breaking were punishable crimes. At this period the tendency was to give a military cast to society. Governor Harrison's inclinations were decidedly in that direction. He put the people of the Territory into military discipline as far as possible, and believed in the Spartan plan of training boys for soldiers.

By an act passed in February, 1809, Indiana Territory was shorn of the vast extent of country included in it, and left with the boundary of the present State. This division left about seventeen thousand white people in Indiana, and gave to the remainder of Indiana Territory about eleven thousand. By the Governor's apportionment, under the Ordinance of 1787, allowing one to every five hundred of the population, there were eight members

in the Territorial House of Representatives at this time. The Legislature met in November, 1809. The following extracts cover the better parts of Governor Harrison's speech at this time, and especially the state of his dealings with the Indians:—

“Presenting, as we do, a very extended frontier to numerous and warlike tribes of the aborigines, the state of our relations with them must always form an important and interesting feature in our local politics. It is with regret that I have to inform you that the harmony and good understanding, which it is so much our interest to cultivate with those our neighbors, have, for some time past, experienced a considerable interruption, and that we have indeed been threatened with hostilities by a combination formed under the auspices of a bold adventurer, who pretended to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity. His character as a prophet would not, however, have given him any very dangerous influence, if he had not been assisted by the intrigues and advice of foreign agents, and other disaffected persons, who have for years omitted no opportunity of counter-acting the measures of the Government with regard to the Indians, and filling their naturally jealous minds with suspicions of the justice and integrity of our views towards them.

“The circumstance which was laid hold of to encourage disaffection, on a late occasion, was the treaty made by me at Fort Wayne in the autumn of the last year. Amongst the difficulties which were to be encountered, to obtain those extinguishments of title which have proved so beneficial to the Treasury of the United States, and so necessary as the means of increasing the population of the Territory, the most formidable was that of ascertaining the tribes which were to be admitted as parties to the treaties. The subject was accordingly discussed

in a long correspondence between the Government and myself, and the principles which were finally adopted were made as liberal towards the Indians as a due regard to the interests of the United States would permit. Of the tribes which had formed the confederacy in the war which was terminated by the peace of Greenville, some were residents upon the lands which were in the possession of their forefathers at the time that the first settlements were made in America by white people, whilst others were emigrants from distant parts of the country, and had no other claim to the tracts they occupied than what a few years' residence, by the tacit consent of the real owners, could give. Upon common and general principles, the transfer of the title of the former description would have been sufficient to vest in the purchaser the legal right to lands so situated. But in all its transactions with the Indians our Government have not been content with doing that which was just only. Its savage neighbors have, on all occasions, experienced its liberality and benevolence. Upon this principle, in several of the treaties which have been made, several tribes have been admitted to a participation of their benefits who had no title to the land ceded, merely because they had been accustomed to hunt upon and derive part of their support from them. For this reason, and to prevent the Miamis, who were the real owners of the land, from experiencing any ill effects from their resentment, the Delawares, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos were made parties to the late treaty at Fort Wayne. No other tribe was admitted, because it never had been suggested that any other could plead even the title of use or occupancy of the lands, which at that time were conveyed to the United States.

“It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming a hostile combination against the United States had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the Prophet,



with regard to the lands in question, were made known. A furious clamor was then raised by the foreign agents among us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great and influential character, as he was termed; and the doing so expressly attributed to personal ill-will on the part of the negotiator. No such ill-will did in fact exist. I accuse myself, indeed, of an error in the patronage and support which I afforded him upon his first arrival on the Wabash, before his hostility to the United States had been developed; but on no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage called the Prophet is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs, the principal of whom was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed on the part of his tribe any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of other tribes to effect the cession.

“As soon as I was informed that his dissatisfaction at the treaty was assigned as the cause of the hostile attitude which the Prophet had assumed, I sent to inform him that whatever claims he might have to the lands which had been purchased for the United States, were not in the least affected by that purchase; that he might come forward and exhibit his pretensions, and, if they were really found to be just or equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them. His brother was deputed, and sent to me for that purpose; but, far from being able to show any color of claim, either for himself or any of his followers, his objections to the treaty were confined to the assertion that all the lands upon the continent were the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale of any part of it could be valid without the consent of all. A proposition so extremely absurd, and which would forever prevent any

further purchase of lands by the United States, could receive no countenance from any friend of his country. He had, however, the insolence to declare that by the acknowledgment of that principle alone could the effects of his resentment be avoided. . . . I have been thus particular, gentlemen, in giving you information upon the present state of our affairs with the neighboring Indians, that you may have them fully before you, in case you should think proper to make them in any shape the subject of your deliberations. Although the management of the Indian affairs, in relation to their character as an independent people, and our trade with them in their own country, is entirely and exclusively under the control of the United States, it has been determined that the regulations for the government of the latter are of no force in our settlements. Every person has been allowed to trade with them that pleases, which proves a source of numberless abuses, of mischievous effect both to the Indians and ourselves.

“Should you think proper to pass a law, either prohibiting the trade of Indians within our settlements altogether, or confining it to the frontiers, and obliging those who follow it to take out licenses, I am persuaded that your constituents would receive much benefit. It will be worthy of your consideration, also, whether some penalty might not be advantageously imposed upon those who, by improper interference, and by circulating falsehoods among the Indians, counteract the intentions of the Government, and lay the foundations for distrust and enmity which may produce the most serious consequences. . . . Although much has been done towards the extinguishment of Indian titles in the Territory, much still remains to be done. We have not sufficient space to form a tolerable State. The eastern settlements are separated from the western by a considerable extent of Indian lands, and the most fertile tracts that are within our territorial bounds,

are still their property. Almost entirely divested of the game from which they have drawn their subsistence, it has become of little use to them; and it was the intention of the Government to substitute, for the precarious and scanty supplies that the chase affords, the more certain support which is derived from agriculture and the rearing of domestic animals. By the considerate and sensible amongst them, this plan is considered the only one which will save them from utter extirpation. But a most formidable opposition has been raised to it by the warriors, who will never agree to abandon their old habits until driven to it by absolute necessity. As long as a deer is to be found in their forests, they will continue to hunt; it has therefore been supposed that the confining them to narrow limits was the only means of producing this highly desirable change, and averting the destiny which seems to impend over them. Are, then, those extinguishments of native title, which are at once so beneficial to the Indians, the Territory, and the United States, to be suspended upon account of the intrigues of a few individuals? Is one of the fairest portions of the globe to remain in a state of nature, the haunt of a few wretched savages, when it seems destined by the Creator to give support to a large population, and to be the seat of civilization, of science, and true religion? . . .

“Let me earnestly recommend to you, that, in the system of education which you may establish in those schools, the military branch may not be forgotten. Let the masters in the inferior schools be obliged to qualify themselves, and instruct their pupils, in the military evolutions; while the university, in addition to those exercises, may have attached to it a professorship of tactics, in which all the sciences connected with the art of war may be taught. I can see no reasonable objection to this plan; it will afford healthy exercise and amusement to the youth, inspire them with patriotic sentiments, furnish our militia with a succession

of recruits, all of them habituated to the performance of military evolutions, and some of them with considerable attainments in the higher branches of tactics. The sole additional expense to the ordinary mode of education, independent of the additional professorships in the university, will be the procuring for each subordinate school, a number of mock firelocks of wood, a few martial instruments, and, for the higher schools, a few hundred real guns, of the cheapest manufacture."

In this straightforward and sensible speech the Governor did not neglect to impress upon the little Legislature the importance of the example of Greece, Rome, and the Campus Martius. There was always a kind of Quixotic attachment of General Harrison to Rome and Greece, and their utterly inapplicable condition and circumstances to the simple, sensible, and unshowy affairs of a Christian Republic, established after many centuries of slow progress, in a new world. This habit, like the utterly indefensible practice of the mixture of tongues, took some strength and dignity from his otherwise vigorous and manly speeches, addresses, and writings, and gave to them a far-fetched and unreliable air.

The prospects of war now seemed to thicken, in the opinion of Governor Harrison, and from his patriotic point of view, preparations to meet it should be the work of all free men interested in the safety and welfare of their country. The formation and disciplining of an army suited to the demands, in a republic where men naturally inclined to look with disfavor and disgust upon military parade, was a

matter of his constant concern. He believed the militia were the true source of reliance and safety to the country, but the great obstacles in the way of their utility lay in organization and discipline. His speeches to the Legislature usually contained strong appeals on this subject, but the weak and poor condition of the settlements in the Territory made legislation of little moment, and discipline and equipment of the militia uncertain and unsatisfactory. This feeling seems to pervade all his suggestions to the Legislature on the subject of the militia. In some of his communications he even resorts to ridicule and bitter reproach touching the appearance, equipment, organization, and spirit of the militia. In the spring of 1809, he wrote a long letter to Governor Charles Scott, of Kentucky, whom he had met in Wayne's campaign, and at Fort Washington, and whose soldierly, patriotic, and sensible qualities he much prized, fully presenting his views as to the militia. Men, he thought, the Republic would always have, but few of them would be soldiers. And while recognizing the militia as the only reliance of the country, the great question was how to convert them into soldiers, disciplined, reliable soldiers. To this end his method was for the enactment of laws converting the whole Nation into a military camp; having the best attainable and most enthusiastic officers; setting aside several weeks yearly for actual field and camp discipline; instruction from youth up in the regular tactics; making attractive the "pomp of war;" introducing rewards and distinctions; and



finally delivering occasional orations to all the encampments, holding up to the soldiers and protectors of the Republic the examples of Greece and Rome.

Soon after the beginning of Mr. Madison's Administration, the new Secretary of War, Mr. Eustis, wrote a letter to Governor Harrison, congratulating him on his success in conducting the different affairs of his position, assuring him of the high approbation of the new Administration, and asking him to state his views fully as to the mode of protecting the western frontier. This he did in a letter dated at Vincennes, July 5, 1809. In this opinion he assumed that one hundred thousand men could not protect the western border in a line of forts; held that forts were mainly worthless; that certain military positions were of great value to impede the progress of armies of enemies, and in facilitating the movement and collection of supplies, and as centers of rendezvous for our own forces which ought to be made use of for that purpose; that the force at Detroit should be regulated by the force kept by the British at Malden; that Detroit was not a valuable strategic or trading point; that a fleet should be built on Lake Erie equal to the British already there, or Detroit River fortified to prevent them passing from that Lake; that the points for this very fortification he had investigated in 1803, when on his short trip there; that the post of Mackinaw should be held; that a post should be formed on the Wisconsin; or on the great route to the Mississippi from Lake Michigan; that the post at Chicago should be held; that Fort

Wayne was a valuable point and should be maintained, with some other point on the Wabash; that Fort Massac should be kept merely as a depository; and that all posts established should be well supplied for many months in advance; with several other important matters.

The winter closed, and the spring of 1810 opened at the little capital of Indiana with rumors of war from every source. The success of the Prophet in uniting the tribes was reported to have been complete; even the Wyandots, the keepers of the great belt which showed the union of the nations against the Americans in the last war, and the Sacs and Foxes, were said to have lifted the tomahawk at the instigation of the Prophet. Near the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, this scoundrel had established himself, and was bold enough to send word to the Governor that the Great Spirit had authorized him to collect all the Indians he could at that point. At times as many as a thousand of these discontented wretches were assembled at the Prophet's Town. But the number varied greatly as their wants and fears, or the conflicting counsels to which they were exposed, prevailed. The whites were deeply alarmed; and when Governor Harrison called a meeting of the citizens of Vincennes and the neighborhood, to consult them on the course to be taken, there was a general disposition to favor immediate steps to protect the country. Accordingly, the Governor called out two companies of militia, and made provisions for a demand on the whole force, if necessary. Two

companies of regulars were ordered from points on the Ohio to proceed to Vincennes; and other steps were taken to prepare the country for any emergency. But the Governor was skeptical as to many of the reports of hostilities on the part of the Indians. In this he was strengthened by a visit from some Pottawatomies and Delawares, headed by Winemack, the leading Delaware chief, and a firm friend of the Americans, at least as firm a friend as an Indian was able to be. While this is said comparatively, it is not meant to indicate beyond question that the Indian suffers greatly by comparison with nations supposed to be guided by the spirit of civilization and Christianity.

Winemack brought the news that the council of northern tribes in which the Delawares had been represented, held on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, had determined not to support the scheme of Lolliwachica (or Law-li-was-i-kaw, who sometimes called himself Pems-quata-wah, besides the other names mentioned heretofore). The hostility of the Prophet and his followers could not be doubted from all the reports and direct communications to the Governor on the subject. Nor was it all left to the stories of Indians and white messengers, sent out to ascertain the fact in the case. Early in the summer a boat loaded with salt for the Indians as a part of their annuities was sent up the Wabash. That left for the people with the Prophet, he and Tecumseh refused to receive, openly declaring that they wanted nothing more from the United States. The withdrawal of

some of the northern tribes made the undertaking of the two Shawnee leaders more difficult, and put off the time of its expected fulfillment, but nothing was more evident than their hostile designs, in the spring and summer of 1810, although Governor Harrison and some of his spies and agents seemed to fall into the notion that there was then no danger, and little prospect of their success ultimately, to start a war upon the whites.

The authority of the famous Little Turtle was now mainly lost among the Indians, and especially was he set up as an object of detestation by the followers of the Prophet, who held that an Indian could commit no greater offense against his own people than to adopt the habits, and seek the favors of the white Americans. The Government during the Administration of Mr. Jefferson had given Little Turtle an especial annuity, and some other advantages, besides building him a house, to induce him to adopt civilized habits. This was done under the impression that his example and influence would be very great, and that others would desire to follow him. But this was a mistake. That is, as he went up in the estimation of the whites, he went down in that of the Indians. And from the appearance of Tecumseh and the Prophet until his death in 1812, this old chief, perhaps I may venture to say fine, good old chief, had little influence among all the Indians. He saw the storm coming, but had no power to avert it. Although he had his seasons of doubt and temptation, yet with little deviation he remained true to

his friendship for, and faith in the United States, as plighted to the patriotic, wise, and able soldier, General Wayne, at Greenville.

In a letter dated July 4, 1810, to the Secretary of War, Mr. Eustis, Governor Harrison wrote:—

“However painful it may be to entertain such an opinion, I am, nevertheless, convinced of the fact, that there is a constant communication between some persons in this place and the Prophet; and although they may not have urged him to make war upon the United States, they foment his discontent, and encourage him to set up pretensions which the policy of our Government has always opposed, and which can never be admitted, without shutting the door to every future extinguishment of title upon any terms that would be beneficial to our treasury. The subject of allowing the Indians of this country to consider all their lands as common property has been frequently and largely discussed in my communications to your predecessor, and in a personal correspondence with the late President. The treaties made by me last fall were concluded upon principles as liberal towards the Indians as my knowledge of the views and opinions of the Government would allow. For, although great latitude of discretion has been always given me, I knew that the opinion of Mr. Jefferson on the subject went so far as to assert a claim of the United States as lords paramount to all extinguished or decayed tribes, to the exclusion of all recent settlers. Upon this principle the Miami nation are the only rightful claimants of all the unpurchased lands, from the Ohio to the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers. But, sir, the President may rest assured that the complaints of injury with regard to the sale of lands is a mere pretense, suggested to the Prophet by British partisans and emissaries.”



There was at this early date up the Wabash, fifteen or twenty miles from Vincennes, a Shaker settlement. With these people the followers of the Prophet were on quite intimate terms. When any of them wanted to steal horses they went to the Shaker meetings, and on their way home executed the main business of their pious mission among the scattered settlers. These ignorant Shakers considered the Prophet as directed by the same high power as their own leader and themselves, and gave countenance, in that way, to his infernal machinations; although it is hardly to be supposed that they encouraged the Indians in their preparations for a war in which neither their friendship, ignorance, nor folly would have saved them more than other whites. Long before the independence of this country, and up to this day, one of the greatest difficulties on the part of the Government, in dealing with the Indians, has been in the meddlesome interference of pretentious persons claiming superior goodness, superior wisdom, and a more conscientious and exalted capability and disposition to deal with the Indians than the administrators of the Government, or than was contemplated by the Government itself. These persons have constituted themselves guides for the Indians, and have stood forward in directing them what to do, and what to refuse to do; or they have clamored at the Administrations for the management of the Indians, or to Congress to embrace their wisdom and goodness in legislating for the

Indians. Taking all things into consideration, the highest, most just, most disinterested, and wisest seat, or attainable and reliable form, of the conduct of public affairs and general arrangements for the best possible good of all people, white, black, red, ignorant, and wise, is to be found in Congress and the various Administrations, as they are, from time to time, the successful expression of the calm sentiment of the majority of the citizens.

The people of the Territory now became more alarmed. The depredations of the Indians were more frequent, and the indications of matters turning again in favor of the Prophet, and the great scheme of uniting the tribes against the Americans, were daily more evident. Governor Harrison increased his watchfulness; spies and messengers were sent to the Prophet's Town, and among the neighboring tribes; and to the Prophet the Governor sent a speech. In this talk he said sharply and pointedly:—

“What reason have you to complain of the United States? Have they taken anything from you? Have they ever violated the treaties made with the red men? You say they have purchased land from those who have no right to sell. Show the truth of this, and the land will be instantly restored. Show us the rightful owners of those lands which have been purchased. Let them present themselves. The ears of your father will be open to their complaints; and, if any lands have been purchased from those who did not own them, they will be restored to the rightful owners. I have full power to arrange this business. But if you would rather carry

your complaints before your great father, the President, you shall be indulged. I will instantly take the means to send you, and three chiefs, to be chosen by you, to the city where your father lives. Every thing necessary shall be prepared for your journey, and means taken to insure your safe return."

Tecumseh was present at the delivery of this speech, and himself sent back word that he would in a few days visit the Governor, and would be accompanied by some of his warriors and young men. For two reasons Governor Harrison objected to this proceeding on the part of Tecumseh. It would be inconvenient to feed such a retinue, and the appearance of such a needless body of armed Indians, believed to be hostile, would greatly alarm the whites, many of whom were already fleeing from the country. A messenger was sent, accordingly, to notify Tecumseh that such a body of men must not be brought with him. But this was not heeded, and on the 12th of August the haughty chief appeared with a large company of warriors at Vincennes. This was the first meeting between Governor Harrison and this Shawnee warrior. In the campaign on the Maumee he had seen Harrison, when he was overshadowed by the distinguished soldier General Wayne. The conference with Tecumseh was prolonged for ten days, and was the most interesting and exciting affair of the kind ever witnessed on the western border. Many extraordinary speeches have been attributed to Tecumseh on these occasions, most of which he did

not make. The following are perhaps the best authenticated of these speeches, the substance of which, at any rate, he certainly used:—

“Brother, I wish you to listen to me well. As I think you do not clearly understand what I before said to you, I will explain again. . . .

“Brother, since the peace of Greenville, in 1794, was made, you have killed some of the Shawnees, Winnebagoes, Delawares, and Miamis; and you have taken our lands from us; and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you, if you continue to do so. You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that are pushing them on to do mischief. You endeavor to make distinctions. You wish to prevent the Indians to do as we wish them, to unite and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take tribes aside, and advise them not to come into this measure; and until our design is accomplished, we do not wish to accept of your invitation to go and see the President. The reason I tell you this is, you want, by your distinctions of Indian tribes in allotting to each a particular tract of land, to make them to war with each other. You never see an Indian come and endeavor to make the white people do so. You are continually driving the red people; when, at last, you will drive them into the great lake, where they can't either stand or work. Brother, you ought to know what you are doing with the Indians. Perhaps it is by direction of the President to make those distinctions. It is a very bad thing; and we do not like it. Since my residence at Tippecanoe, we have endeavored to level all distinctions; to destroy village chiefs, by whom all mischief is done. It is they who sell our lands to the Americans. Our object is to let our affairs be transacted by warriors.

“Brother, this land that was sold, and the goods that

were given for it, were only done by a few. The treaty was afterwards brought here, and the Weas were induced to give their consent, because of their small numbers. The treaty at Fort Wayne was made through the threats of Win-e-mack; but, in future, we are prepared to punish those chiefs who may come forward to propose to sell the land. If you continue to purchase of them, it will produce war among the different tribes, and, at last, I do not know what will be the consequence to the white people.

“Brother, I was glad to hear your speech. You said that if we could show that the land was sold by people that had no right to sell, you would restore it. Those that did sell did not own it. These tribes set up a claim; but the tribes with me will not agree to their claim. If the land is not restored to us, you will see, when we return to our homes, how it will be settled. We shall have a great council, at which all the tribes shall be present, when we shall show to those who sold that they had no right to the claim they set up; and we will see what will be done with those chiefs who did sell the land to you. I am not alone in this determination. It is the determination of all the warriors and red people that listen to me. I now wish you to listen to me. If you do not, it will appear as if you wished me to kill all the chiefs that sold you the land.

“I tell you so, because I am authorized by all the tribes to do so. I am the head of them all. I am a warrior, and all the warriors will meet together in two or three moons from this. Then I will call for those chiefs that sold you the land, and shall know what to do with them. If you do not restore the land, you will have a hand in killing them.

“Brother, do not believe that I came here to get presents from you. If you offer us any, we will not take them. By taking goods from you, you will hereafter say



that with them you purchased another piece of land from us. . . .

“Brother, it has been the object of both myself and brother (the Prophet) to prevent the lands being sold. Should you not return the land, it will occasion us to call a great council, that will meet at the Huron village, where the council fire has already been lighted, at which those who sold the lands shall be called, and shall suffer for their conduct.

“Brother, I wish you would take pity on the red people, and do what I have requested. If you will not give up the land, and do cross the boundary of your present settlement, it will be very hard, and produce great troubles among us. How can we have confidence in the white people? When Jesus Christ came upon the earth, you killed him, and nailed him on a cross. You thought he was dead; but you were mistaken. You have Shakers among you, and you laugh and make light of their worship. Everything I have said to you is the truth. The Great Spirit has inspired me, and I speak nothing but the truth to you. . . .

“Brother, I hope you will confess that you ought not to have listened to those bad birds, who bring you bad news. I have declared myself freely to you; and if any explanation (should be required) from our town, send a man who can speak to us. If you think proper to give us any presents, and we can be convinced that they are given through friendship alone, we will accept them. As we intend to hold our council at the Huron village, that is near the British, we may probably make them a visit. Should they offer us any presents of goods, we will not take them; but should they offer us powder and the tomahawks, we will take the powder and refuse the tomahawks. I wish you, brother, to consider everything I have said as true, and that it is the sentiment of all the red people that listen to me.”

On the first day of the council Tecumseh made this speech:—

“What I am I have become by my own exertions; and I would that I could make the red men as great as I picture them in my mind, when I think of the Great Spirit, and his wish to render all his people noble and happy.

“Were such the case, I would not come to General Harrison beseeching him to annul the treaty; but I would say to him, ‘Brother, you are at liberty to return to your own country.’ There was a time when the foot of the white man did not crush the fallen limbs in our paths. This country then belonged to all the red men. It was created for the red man and his children. We were all united, and the Great Spirit placed us here, and filled the land with fruit and game for our use. We were then happy. We are now made miserable by the white man, who is never contented, but asks us for more and more land. The white people have driven us from the great salt lake. They follow us over the mountains as we retire to the setting sun. They would force us into the lakes, but we are determined to go no further.

“The march of the white men must be stopped. The Indians must insist upon the original compact. The land belongs to us all, and all must still own it. It was our fathers’. We must give it to our children. It can not be divided.

“We have no right to sell, even to each other. How then can we sell it to strangers? Why should we, when they are never satisfied? The land is ours, and the white men have no right to take it from us. The Indians, should they sell, can only do so when all the tribes are together, and when all consent. No sale is valid unless made by all. The late sale was made only by a few tribes, and it is therefore nugatory.”

## CHAPTER IX.

SIGNS OF WAR ON THE WABASH—THE SHAWNEE AND HIS  
PURPOSES—AN INHERITANCE FROM THE GREAT  
SPIRIT TO BE MAINTAINED.

AT this council Governor Harrison invited to be present members of the Supreme Court, and all other citizens, and especially those who entertained the belief that the Indians had been unfairly dealt with. Many persons were present, mostly, however, out of curiosity to see how the Shawnee would conduct himself. Among those attending was Winemack, the distinguished Delaware, who was the warm friend of the Americans, and who took occasion to occupy a position on the ground not far from Governor Harrison, armed for his own and the Governor's defense. Nor was this precaution unwise. Tecumseh did not in the least during this long council conceal his general plans. Three points he announced boldly and decidedly. He claimed:—

1. That all the lands were the property of the Indians in common; that no tribe had a right to sell the lands without the consent of all; and that, therefore, the treaties and sales which had been made to the United States were invalid.

2. That he and his brother had started in the

purpose of uniting all the tribes on this principle, and in this union they would resist the advance of the white race.

3. That they meant to put to death all the old chiefs who were favorable to selling their lands, and associating with the whites, and put the affairs of the tribes in the hands of the warriors.

Tecumseh held to the idea that the Great Spirit had given the lands to the Indians, and designed them to keep them, and that they were to be retained by them forever. After announcing this plan, he boldly stated that the only road to peace was for the United States not only to abandon the policy of buying Indian lands in the future, but also to give up those already bought. It had been known for a long time, as the Prophet had avowed it, that one of their villainous schemes was first to kill Harrison, and then massacre the people in all the settlements. On this occasion the large number of men with Tecumseh was armed thoroughly, and there is no doubt that had the opportunity been in every way favorable it was meant to kill the Governor, and murder the people of the town. Yet notwithstanding the manner in which he was attended, and the views and plans he fearlessly set forth, Tecumseh declared over and over that his intentions were peaceful, and that they had no notion of going to war on the whites. In this flimsy falsehood, he deceived no one. He was dealing with a braver man than himself. This he learned.

In Governor Harrison's reply to Tecumseh he

treated the notion that the Great Spirit designed the Indians all to constitute one body as ridiculous. They were found located in different parts of the country and their utterly different languages, habits, and dispositions, naturally and necessarily distinguished them into separate and independent tribes; that the lands in Indiana were originally found mainly in the hands of the Miamis who had held them since any certain knowledge of them was in the possession of the whites, and that they were really the only Indians who had any right whatever to them; much less should the tribe to which he belonged have any voice in the disposition of the country, as the Shawnees were wanderers from the South, a thing very well known. (The earliest notable instance of the impertinence and mischievousness of carpet-bag rule! And from the South!)

The Indians had been treated wisely and justly by the Government of the United States, the Governor maintained; that the Indians would not cultivate their lands; that they had too much even if they would; that they were becoming worthless for hunting; and that with enough for their purposes, and perpetual annuities from the Government, they would be better able to live, and in fact, it would soon be the only way in which they could live; that the same policy would be pursued in dealing with them, which had been found the only satisfactory one; that the Government would hold to the treaties it had made; would relinquish no lands purchased already; and that it would defend its rights by the sword.



The interpreter had not progressed very far in making these views known to Tecumseh when a scene occurred that had not been expected by the Governor and most of the whites present. Tecumseh jumped to his feet, stopped the interpreter, declared that what the Governor had said was false, and wildly denounced the whole proceeding. Harrison, not understanding the language of the Shawnee, for a few moments was unaware of the true state of affairs. But John Gibson, the Secretary of the Territory, knew the meaning of every word, as did Winemack. Gibson said to the Governor that there was about to be trouble, and the guard of twelve soldiers off at some distance in the shade had better be called up. Harrison drew his sword, the citizens armed themselves as best they could with stones, clubs, pistols, and Winemack stood with his pistol cocked (one of a pair presented him by Governor Harrison the day before); well he knew that in case of a rencounter between the Indians and the whites his life would be worth nothing if the Shawnee lived. But the display of temper on the part of Tecumseh was premature. The forty or fifty warriors surrounding him were on their feet in a moment, but the wily chief saw that he had gone too far, at the wrong time. Harrison then, with sword in hand, ordered Tecumseh out of his presence, and out of the neighborhood, and told him that he was a villainous character, and what other communications he had to make would be in writing to the tribes concerned.

During the night Tecumseh and his friends concluded that an attempt should be made to restore the former relations with Governor Harrison. And on the following morning he sent an apology to the Governor. This Harrison received, and they had several meetings afterwards, one of which was in Tecumseh's tent. But nothing came of it. Tecumseh held to his former positions, and to the last asserted that trouble would come if the Government continued to take the lands of the Indians. Harrison told him that all he had said and done would be carefully laid before the President.

"Well," said the Shawnee, "as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough in his head to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true he is so far off, he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town, and drink his wine, while you and I will fight it out."

A high-toned savage's idea of civilized wealth and greatness! A President of the United States whose highest glory would be to sit in ease, and drink whisky! This same idea pervades all stages of society, and is it more civilized, exalted, and noble in one than another? Here whisky was destroying whole tribes, whisky and war. But recently the Peorias wandered over the plains east of the Mississippi. These two agents had swept them out of existence, so that the representative of Thomas Jefferson could not find one Peoria, claiming to be the next in kin and rightful heir, to make an indisputable

deed of all the lands of his nation to the United States. So where pretentious civilization and wisdom make the highest claims to respectability these two agents destroy thousands and tens of thousands, and in times of profound peace the one sweeps away whole families, whole races, and countless individuals, more than all unavoidable diseases and accidents, and fills the world with crime and misery.

Before these fearless soldiers parted, Governor Harrison told Tecumseh that there was but one thing more which he wished to ask, and that was, should they come to war, women, children, and prisoners should be spared, and the usual barbarous method of the Indians should not be practiced toward these helpless classes. Tecumseh had no hesitancy on his part in promising to carry out this request. Nor is there any evidence that he ever broke this promise.

One of the meanest developments of this remarkable council between Governor Harrison and Tecumseh was the fact that the latter had been instigated to the conduct he pursued by white residents in Vincennes. Tecumseh stated that some of the whites had assured him that most of them were opposed to the policy of the Governor, and would sustain him in a bold opposition to it, and the names of several of the instigators were actually given. Whether the assertions of the Indians could be wholly relied upon in this case or not, there is no doubt of the correctness of the Governor's statement to the Secretary of War concerning the traitors in his own camp. It

is hardly worth while to hope to find anything on this earth, administration, man, beast, or principle, against which a faction can not be found. The greatest evil will have its advocates, without or within, openly or privately; and every good, the highest good, even God (perfect and absolute goodness and absolute truth) will have the bitterest enemies, and the most uncompromising and persistent vilifiers.

Notwithstanding the threats of Tecumseh and his brother, most of the Indians under the treaties came in in the fall of 1810, and received their annuities. Many of them were driven to this by their desperate circumstances, although they may have preferred the course recommended by the Shawnee leaders. They now received from the traders an exceedingly low price for peltries; the promises of the Prophet to lead them to the storehouses of the whites often withheld them from the trifling efforts they were accustomed to make; and these promises had yet failed them, as had his pretensions toward making supernatural supplies for them, and saving them from death itself. The annuities from, and favor of, the United States were their chief means of support. Yet the condition of the Indians from the Ohio to Lake Michigan and the Mississippi was wretched indeed at this time.

Matters remained comparatively quiet during the winter of 1810. At this time it was that Governor Harrison thought it well, as previously mentioned, to bring the suit for slander against the Scotchman,

Wm. McIntosh, as he saw no other way of bringing out all the facts touching his administration of public affairs and Indian treaties, the Legislature refusing, at his suggestion, to make a thorough examination of his official conduct. This trial produced great excitement at Vincennes, and in other parts of the Territory; but the lawyers for the defense, finding they had no just grounds for their cause, only sought for a mitigation of the penalty.

As the spring of 1811 opened, the growing dissatisfaction of the Indians became more apparent; the British agents on the Canadian border were known to be unusually active in urging the Indians forward, and especially and certainly in courting their friendship in anticipation of approaching war between England and the United States. The Administration had promised to prepare for a thorough defense of the western border during this year, and the necessity of activity became more evident among the whites. In June, 1811, Governor Harrison sent this plain speech to Tecumseh and his brother:—

“Brothers,—Listen to me. I speak to you about matters of importance, both to the white people and to yourselves. Open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I shall say. Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in this country have been alarmed at your proceedings. You threaten us with war; you invite all the tribes to the north and west of you to join against us. Brothers, your warriors, who have lately been here, deny this; but I have received the information from every direction. The tribes on the Mississippi have sent me word that you intended to murder me, and then to



commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech you sent to the Pottowatomies and others to join you for that purpose; but if I had no other evidence of your hostility to us, your seizing the salt I lately sent up the Wabash is sufficient.

“Brothers, our citizens are alarmed, and my warriors are preparing themselves, not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us, as you expect to do. You are about to undertake a very rash act. As a friend, I advise you to consider well of it. A little reflection may save us a great deal of trouble, and prevent much mischief; it is not yet too late. Brothers, what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise when there is so little probability of success? Do you really think that the handful of men you have about you are able to contend with the Seventeen Fires? or even that the whole of the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky Fire alone?

“Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife Fire. As soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of hunting-shirt men, as numerous as the mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings. Brothers, it is not our wish to hurt you. If we did, we certainly have power to do it. Look at the number of our warriors to the east of you, above and below the Great Miami; to the south, on both sides of the Ohio, and below you also. You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude? But we wish you to live in peace and happiness. Brothers, the citizens of this country are alarmed. They must be satisfied that you have no design to do them mischief, or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the Government of the United States, by seizing the salt that was for other tribes. Satisfaction must be given for that also. Brothers, you talk of coming to see me attended by all your young men. This,

however, must not be so. If your intentions are good, you need not bring but a few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you. I will not suffer you to come into our settlements with such a force.

“Brothers, if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice I have given you before; that is, that one or both of you should visit the President of the United States, and lay your grievances before him. He will treat you well; will listen to what you have to say, and, if you can show him that you have been injured, you will receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect, it will convince the citizens of this country and myself that you have no design to attack them. Brothers, with respect to the lands that were purchased last fall, I can enter into no negotiations with you on that subject. The affair is in the hands of the President. If you wish to go and see him, I will supply you with the means.

“Brothers, the person who delivers this is one of my war officers. He is a man in whom I have entire confidence. Whatever he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me. My friend, Tecumseh! the bearer is a good man, and a brave warrior. I hope you will treat him well. You are yourself a warrior, and all such should have esteem for each other.”

To this Tecumseh sent a very disjointed reply, mainly to the effect that he would visit him in eighteen days or less, when he hoped everything would be arranged to his satisfaction. Tecumseh was then preparing for his Southern trip, to fire the Creeks and other Southern tribes, some of whom were his relatives, and among whom he had before visited as a young man, and it is somewhat

difficult to believe that he did not know he was not telling the Governor the truth. On the 27th of July, with three hundred warriors and some women and children, Tecumseh arrived at Vincennes. This formidable force was alarming to the people of Vincennes. But Harrison was ready for the emergency, and the whole militia of the county, more than twice the Indian force, were also ready. The time was set for a council, when Tecumseh sent to know if those who would attend the Governor would be in arms. Harrison returned reply that it should be as Tecumseh preferred. He preferred to appear without guns; but his men, nearly two hundred, who attended him to the place of council, were armed with tomahawks, clubs, knives, and some with bows and arrows. The Governor had with him seventy dismounted dragoons, all armed with pistols and sabers. He opened the conference by saying that he could not discuss the treaty question; that that was in the hands of the President; that no answer had been returned from Washington as to considering all the Indians of the continent alike concerned in the lands; and that he expected an explanation as to the capture of the load of salt recently sent up the Wabash, only a small part of which was designed for the Prophet's Town. Tecumseh, in reply, told the Governor that they could not please him any way they acted. One year, when they took no salt, he was displeased, and, when on another year they took it all, he

was displeased; and would give no satisfaction as to this, or as to giving up two Pottawatomie murderers then at Tippecanoe.

On the second day, when the council met, the Indians took up the treaty business, and the entire dealings of the whites with them; and Tecumseh plainly said that he had united all the northern tribes, and all were subject to him; that nothing could be done without him; that he was going South, to induce the Southern tribes to unite with them; and that, when he returned in the spring, he would go to Washington and see the Great Father, and everything would be amicably arranged; that the whites should not blame him for uniting the tribes, as they meant no harm by it; that all their intentions were peaceful; and a great deal more hypocrisy and lying to the same effect, all of which the Governor very well understood.

In a few days after this scene, Tecumseh and twenty of his men went down the Wabash, and proceeded to Alabama; and the Prophet, who accompanied this expedition, returned with his followers to the Tippecanoe, which was soon to become a noted place as one of the battle-grounds of the West. Even before this last council at Vincennes, the President had authorized Harrison to organize a force to proceed against this town.

It is hardly probable that Tecumseh designed an attack on the Governor at this time although this notion usually has prevailed among writers on the

subject. Although Tecumseh had visited most of the Northern Indians, and had in the main, brought them to his views, and, to a great extent, under his authority, yet by no means so completely as Pontiac had done before him; still he had not carried his notions to the South or made any effort to bring either the tribes south of the Ohio or west of the Mississippi into the great alliance of North American Indians. This was a matter of great importance, and he was too wise a general not to have seen that this was no time to inaugurate the war by an attack on Vincennes. The speech he made to Harrison and his earnest professions of friendship and good intentions, had been planned before he left Tippecanoe, and all this was designed to mislead the Governor to the extent necessary, until his own plans were completed. On his mother's side he was related to the Creeks, and did not miscalculate the chances of his success in enlisting them in his great scheme. Red Eagle and Hillis Hajo readily espoused his cause, and it was not long until the fierce battle and slaughter at Fort Mims announced the result of his labors in the South.

On the last day of July, a meeting of the citizens of Vincennes was held, and the following among other resolutions were passed:—

*“Resolved,* That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the safety of the persons and property of this frontier can never be effectually secured but by the breaking up of the combination formed by the Shawanese Prophet on the Wabash.



*“Resolved, That we consider it highly impolitic and injurious, as well to the inhabitants of the United States as to those of the Territory, to permit a formidable banditti, which is constantly increasing in number, to occupy a situation which enables them to strike our settlements without the least warning.*

*“Resolved, That we are fully convinced that the formation of this combination headed by the Shawanese Prophet is a British scheme, and that the agents of that power are constantly exciting the Indians to hostility against the United States.*

*“Resolved, That a temporizing policy is not calculated to answer any beneficial purpose with savages, who are only to be controlled by prompt and decisive measures.*

*“Resolved, That we approve highly of the prompt and decisive measures adopted and pursued by the Governor of the Territory.”*

A committee was appointed to draft an address to President Madison, urging the necessity of immediate action on the part of the Government, and to send him the resolutions and actions in full of this meeting. But the Governor's own representations, as well as appeals from other quarters, had already determined the Administration to authorize Harrison to organize an army for dispersing the hostile Indians on the Tippecanoe, if necessary by force. Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois, had been exceedingly active in seconding the course of Harrison, and his views were as forcibly and frequently laid before the Secretary of War.

Governor Harrison now received a letter from Mr. Eustis, dated July 17, 1811, notifying him that Colonel John P. Boyd, with the 4th United States

Infantry and a company of riflemen, in all about five hundred men, was on the way to Vincennes, subject to his command; and authorizing him to embody the militia and proceed against the Prophet's Town. Another letter followed this, urging the Governor to use every means to prevent a war with the Indians, and intimating that he was certainly aware of the necessity of the country being free from any such incumbrances in view of the doubtful state of foreign relations. On the first day of August, 1811, Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War:—

“The outlines of my plan are, to call upon all the tribes in the most peremptory manner to deliver up such of their people as may have been concerned in murdering our citizens; to require them to fulfill that article of the treaty of Greenville which obliges them to give information of, and to stop, any parties passing through their district with hostile intentions, and that all such as are marching to join the Prophet are considered by us as of that description; to require such of their people as may have joined the Prophet, to return immediately to their respective tribes, or to put them out of their protection. From the Miamis, I will require an absolute disavowal of all connection with the Prophet, and as they are the owners of the land which he occupies, I will endeavor to prevail upon them to express to him their disapprobation of his remaining there.”

He also said that he would reiterate his former statements as to what the Government had done for the Indians, and all its true and correct designs as to the future in dealing with them, but that if they persisted in going to war they would be

exterminated, or driven beyond the Mississippi; that to insure the success of this plan in dissolving the Prophet's followers, some show of military strength must be made; that for this purpose, about the middle of September, he should move up to the new purchase with the militia force he could command, and, should he need more, he would call on Kentucky for volunteers.

This plan the Governor now set about carrying out, and early in September was notified by Mr. Eustis that perhaps it might be necessary to push forward the movement against the Prophet; that crossing the boundaries should not interfere, if it were necessary; that he should in person command the expedition, and that Colonel Boyd would be subject to his orders from Louisville. The Secretary had urged the necessity of not calling this regiment into use on this business, after ordering it forward first to Newport, then to Louisville, and the whole general tone of the instructions from the Administration were undecided and doubtful. The desire at Washington to avoid war with the Indians was earnest and laudable; but the uncertain, if not ambiguous, character of the early instructions to Governor Harrison was extremely perplexing.

He now resolved to order forward Colonel Boyd, and make use of all the regulars he could obtain. Colonel Boyd was a native of Massachusetts, a man of ability, and some interesting foreign military experiences—a soldier by taste and profession. When it was heard in Kentucky that Harrison had been

authorized to break up the Prophet's nest on the Tippecanoe, there was a strong disposition among many of her soldierly citizens to volunteer their aid to serve in a cause they had so much at heart, and under a man whose character and ability were esteemed very highly in that State. Kentuckians were so accustomed to appear on the expeditions against the Indians in the North-western Territory, that their absence from one would have been an omen of misfortune. They had no love for the Indians, and the name they bore of desperate and revengeful fighters carried dread not only to the imagination of the savages, but also to their white instigators and allies on the northern border. It was hard to keep these brave Kentuckians out of an Indian fight. Usually it was enough to let them know that an expedition would be started from any point on the Ohio; and at the appointed time old Governor Shelby, Governor John Adair, or Charles Scott would appear with hundreds of their stalwart friends and neighbors to participate in the adventure. The Estells, Logans, Hardins, and scores of others, were among the hardy leaders who made themselves famous during the thrilling, adventurous days of the "Dark and Bloody Ground." They were a race of brave and chivalrous men, nor are their best qualities dead in their descendants of to-day.

The following letter, written to Governor Harrison, and dated August 24, 1811, will show the spirit of these people and the times, as well as that

of its author, one of the brilliant lawyers of his day, and one of the most worthy of Kentucky's noted men:—

“SIR,—By Mr. Stout, the printer, I was yesterday informed that you were organizing an army of militia and Colonel Boyd's regiment to march against the Indians. The object of this letter is to say that I am very desirous to be with you in this service, and certainly will attend, if I am duly informed of the day of rendezvous. It is but rare that anything in the military way is done; it is still more extraordinary that a gentleman of military ability should conduct matters of this kind when they are to be done, since the land is infested with generals so grossly incompetent. Now, under all the privacy of a letter, I make free to tell you that I have imagined there were two men in the West who had military talents; and you, sir, were the first of the two. It is thus an opportunity of service much valued by me. I go as a volunteer, leaving to you, sir, to dispose of me as you choose. No commission, I know, can be had; so I shall be a soldier. Perhaps some few young men here may join me and go on. If I had a full troop, I should like to be in the vanguard, very willing to be responsible for the good lookout.

“I am not so sure, sir, how your regulars will do. There are two ways of doing this business. One depends for its success upon the suddenness of the blow; and for this four, five, or six hundred will do very well. The other moves slow, with heavy foot and train of baggage; and this ought to be fifteen hundred or two thousand, since it gives full opportunity to the enemy to fix time, place, etc., and because of its slowness, very subject to be harassed.

“You see, sir, I am a true militia-man, ready to offer advice, unasked, to my officer. I have been deliberating whether this army wish to carry on war absolutely, or



whether the drawing of the sword was to be determined by the language and behavior of the enemy after we arrived in their country. I would gladly receive a letter from you on this matter.

“I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours,

“J. H. DAVIESS.”

Governor Harrison accepted the proffered service, and gave Daviess command of the mounted force belonging to his army, with the rank of major. The preparations at Vincennes were no secret to the Indians; in fact, it was partly the design of the military display on the Wabash to frighten them into breaking up the plans of the Prophet, and returning to their friendly execution of their treaty obligations to the United States. Late in September the Prophet sent a deputation to Vincennes, with loud pretensions as to his good intentions towards the whites. But the Governor was not diverted from his purpose to break up the center of murder and theft on the Tippecanoe, although it is quite certain that he was misled as to the Prophet's immediate designs until he heard his rifles and saw his own men fall around him on the famous Battle Ground of Tippecanoe.

## CHAPTER X.

INDIAN WAR—GOVERNOR HARRISON AND THE PROPHET  
AT TIPPECANOE.

THE following extracts are from orders issued by Governor Harrison preparatory to moving against the Prophet:—

“VINCENNES, 16th September, 1811.

“The Governor of the Indiana Territory and Commander-in-chief of the militia, being charged by the President of the United States with a military expedition, takes command of the troops destined for the same, viz.: The detachment of regular troops under the command of Colonel John P. Boyd (consisting of the 4th United States Regiment of Infantry, and a company of the Rifle Regiment), the present garrison of Fort Knox (at Vincennes), and the various detachments of militia, infantry, and dragoons which have been ordered for this service. As the present garrison at Fort Knox is to form a part of Colonel Boyd’s command, the officer commanding that post will receive the Colonel’s orders. Captain Piatt, of the 2d United States Regiment, has been appointed quartermaster for all the troops employed on the expedition, and is to be obeyed and respected as such. Captain Robert Buntin is appointed quartermaster for the militia, and is to be obeyed and respected accordingly. Henry Hurst, Esquire, and the Honorable Waller Taylor, Esquire, aids-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, and having the rank of Majors,

are announced as such. All orders coming from them, in his name, whether in writing or verbally delivered, are to be respected and obeyed, as if delivered by the Commander-in-chief in person."

A later order says:—

"The whole of the infantry, regulars, and militia is to be considered as one brigade, to be under the command of Colonel John P. Boyd, as Brigadier-General. Lieutenant-Colonel Miller will command the first line, composed of the whole of the United States troops; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bartholomew the second line, composed of the whole of the militia infantry; and these two officers will report to, and receive their orders from, Colonel Boyd. The whole of the cavalry will be under the command of Major Daviess, who will report to, and receive his orders from, the Commander-in-chief. Captain Spencer's company of volunteers will act as a detached corps, and the Captain will receive his orders from the Commander-in-chief; they are received as a company of mounted volunteers. The whole army will parade to-morrow at one o'clock; the infantry in two columns of files in single rank. The regular troops will form the leading battalions of each column; the militia infantry the rear. The columns will be at such a distance from each other, that when the battalions shall change their order to one at right angles to their order of march their flanks will meet. Major Daviess will place his largest troop of dragoons in squadron at open order one hundred and fifty yards advanced of the columns of infantry, and at right angles to the order of march. The next largest troop will be placed in the same form and order at one hundred and fifty yards in rear of the columns. The third troop will be placed in single line, on the right flank, at one hundred and fifty yards from the line of infantry, and parallel thereto.

Captain Spencer's company will be formed on the left flank, in single rank, and in a line parallel to the infantry, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the left column."

Several orders were issued with the same exactness, as to line of march and attack, if assailed by the enemy, more suited to civilized than Indian warfare; but all necessary, perhaps, if for nothing more than discipline. Yet the whole thing impresses the historical traveler among these old-time records with the idea that General Harrison was fond of military pomp and authority, and not quite great enough not to show this propensity in insignificant details. Still at best, to the critical and dispassionate looker on, all attempts to organize and discipline men are more or less farcical and ridiculous, and especially is this so in the military affairs of a peaceful republic.

On the 26th of September the little army, composed of a part of the 4th Infantry, two hundred and fifty regulars; sixty Kentucky volunteers, and six hundred Indiana volunteers and militia, moved up the Wabash from Vincennes. About three hundred of these troops acted as cavalry, under the command of Major Daviess. In the ordinary way of speaking, many of the sixty Kentucky volunteers were among the first men of the State. They were, indeed, fine men. Kentucky, not forgetting her dark and bloody days, was always ready to turn a helping hand to the surrounding newer settlements. Her people had the name of being great fighters, and the British and Indians held them in great fear.

There was seldom a fight on the border, in all these early days, in which some of these brave and generous men were not participators.

Above the site of Terre Haute, on the east side of the Wabash, the Governor halted long enough to build a fort, which, by the request of the officers of the expedition, was called Fort Harrison. From this point, at their own request, he sent some friendly Indians to the Prophet's Town, with the hope of still being able to bring him to abandon his purposes against the whites. These Indians never returned, although it was stated, on the evening before the battle, that they had been sent with a specific reply by the Prophet.

After leaving Fort Harrison, with a view of misleading the Indians and throwing his army on the open prairie, the whole force was crossed to the west side of the Wabash. The order of march, with little change, was designed to be the order of battle, if necessity required it. Some distance below the mouth of the Big Vermillion River it was found necessary to leave the boats carrying supplies. Here a block-house was built, and eight men left in charge of it and the transports. The march was now conducted with great caution to prevent a surprise, or any mishap from the treachery of the Prophet. In one of these ways the Governor knew he would be attacked, if at all. As he approached the Prophet's Town (about one hundred and seventy-five miles from Vincennes, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe on the Wabash) the commander's exertions were



again directed toward opening negotiations to allow the Indians another chance for peace. For this purpose the interpreters were kept on the flanks and in advance, but all their efforts to communicate with the savages were met with contempt and ridicule. Notwithstanding this satisfactory evidence of their intentions, Harrison was loth to begin the war by striking the first blow. Then, too, his instructions to fight were so mixed with expressions of desire on the part of the President that no efforts should be spared to settle the difficulties with the Indians without a resort to arms, that he felt it doubly his duty to exhaust every effort to that end. Late in the afternoon of November 6th, the army approached the Indian town. Major Daviess and several other officers were anxious to make an attack at once on the Prophet and his people, and urged Harrison to that effect. But two things led the Governor to decline this advice. He yet hoped that the Indians would sue for peace; and above all he would not risk the destruction of his own little army by rushing headlong into an engagement with a wily foe on ground of his own choice, which was wholly unknown to him. Notwithstanding this determination on the part of the Governor, he came very nearly being led to an immediate advance upon the town. Major Daviess informed him that he and another officer had had a full view of the location of the town and the intermediate lands, which, however, proved to be a mistake. They had seen some houses in the neighborhood, and supposed them to be head-quarters of the Prophet

and his deluded followers. A flag was sent on before the army, in a last attempt to hear of a change in the disposition of the Indians, but the bearer was menaced and not allowed to approach, when the Governor ordered him to be recalled, and the army to move upon the town. At this juncture three of the Prophet's messengers came forward and said the Prophet had actually sent satisfactory propositions to the Governor by the friendly chiefs who had been sent from Fort Harrison, and that he was anxious to remain on peaceable relations with the whites. This turn in affairs brought the army to a stand-still, and preparations were made for going into camp.

Finding they could not take position on the Wabash conveniently, Harrison called an Indian whom he knew and asked him if there was any other water convenient. The Indian simply answered that there was a creek to the north of the town. The General then sent two of his officers to select a place for the camp. They soon reported a position on the creek named by the Indian to be the best in the neighborhood of the town. Here the army was stationed, although it is likely true that Harrison did not fully share with his officers the belief that the location was the best. On two sides, by the protection of the brush-wood on the creek, the approach of an enemy without detection was possible in the night, and on the other sides the prairie terminated in marshes where cavalry could not be used. The position of the camp was elevated above the surrounding lands, however, and since that time it has

been the general sentiment of travelers that Governor Harrison's position was well selected. Every precaution was taken to be ready for a night attack, if the Indians meant to make one in spite of all their pretensions to the contrary. The following brief account of the battle is in the language of McAfee, a careful historian of the events in the West in the War of 1812, and James Hall, a profuse writer on western history:—

“The order given to the army, in the event of a night attack, was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed in such case to parade dismounted, with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains' commands of twenty-four men and four non-commissioned officers; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

“On the night of the 6th of November, the troops went to rest, as usual, with their clothes and accouterments on, and their arms by their sides. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner, and it was the Governor's invariable practice to be ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning. On the morning of the 7th, he arose at a quarter before four o'clock, and sat by the fire conversing with the gentlemen of his family, who were reclining on their blankets waiting for the signal, which in a few minutes would have been given, for the troops to turn out. The orderly drum had already been roused for the *reveillé*. The moon had risen, but afforded little light, in consequence of being overshadowed by clouds, which occasionally discharged a drizzling rain. At this moment the attack commenced.

“The treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire; but one of them discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge upon the left flank. The guard in that quarter gave way, and abandoned their officer without making any resistance. Captain Barton’s company of regulars, and Captain Guiger’s company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive, and had gallantry to resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valor, though but few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires of the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men—except those opposite Barton’s and Guiger’s companies, which the suddenness of the attack left no time to put out.

“Upon the first alarm the Governor mounted his horse, and proceeded towards the point of attack; and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the center of the rear line to march up, and form across the angle in the rear of Barton’s and Guiger’s companies. In passing through the camp towards the left of the front rank, he met with Major Daviess, who informed him that the Indians, concealed behind some trees near the line, were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter, and requested permission to dislodge them. In attempting this exploit he fell, mortally wounded, as did Colonel Isaac White, of Indiana, who acted as a volunteer in his troop.

"In the meantime the attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies, on the right, became very severe. Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The Governor, in passing towards the flank, found Captain Robb's company near the center of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He led them to the aid of Captain Spencer, where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. While the Governor was leading this company into action, Colonel Owen, his aid, was killed at his side. This gallant officer was mounted on a very white horse, and as the Governor had ridden a grey on the day before, it is probable that Owen was mistaken for him, as it is certain that he was killed by one of the only Indians who broke through the lines, and who are supposed to have resolved to sacrifice themselves in an attempt to insure victory by killing the Commander-in-chief. The Governor happened not to be mounted on his own grey; his servant had accidentally tied that animal apart from the other horses belonging to the general staff, and in the confusion occasioned by the attack, not being able to find this horse as quickly as was desirable, the Governor mounted another.

"Captain Prescott's company of United States infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Daviess was wounded, Captain Snelling, by order of the Governor, charged upon the same Indians, and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer hoofs; they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death.

"When the day dawned, Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's under Lieutenant Allbright, Captain Scott's, and Captain Wilson's, were drawn from the rear,



and formed on the left flank; while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells was ordered to take command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted, and commanded by Lieutenant Wallace, to charge the enemy in that direction, which he did successfully—driving them into a swamp through which the cavalry could not pursue them. 'At the same time Cook's and Lieutenant Larrabee's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged the Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.'

"During the time of the contest, the 'Prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war-song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unsuccessful, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies would be involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder."

The Indians engaged in this battle were Shawnees, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Sacs, and Miamis, and have been represented as numbering from three hundred and fifty to one thousand. One hundred and eighty-eight of the Americans were killed or wounded in this desperate conflict. More than forty of these were killed or died on the field of battle, and several died afterwards from their wounds. The Indian loss in dead and wounded was about the same, although this was never ascertained beyond a doubt. Many of their dead

were left on the field; and notwithstanding their great caution in removing every sign of the losses they sustained in battle, they fled with such haste as to leave quite a number of their dead in the town. The little army of Governor Harrison was so crippled that there was no attempt made to pursue the savages. All of the 7th was occupied in taking care of the wounded, and strengthening the position against another attack. On the 8th the mounted rifles and dragoons explored the town and neighborhood, and discovered that the savages had fled, leaving behind them a quantity of live stock, guns, and powder, and nearly all their camp-kettles and other implements. The town was burned, and everything destroyed that could not be appropriated by the soldiers, or to the immediate use of the army.

At noon on the 9th the little army, reduced nearly one-third in fighting strength, started on its return to Vincennes. Most of the wagons were required for conveying the wounded, much of the baggage of the officers having been destroyed for this purpose. The dead had been buried on the battle-ground. The Governor gave his attention unremittingly to the wounded, and the use of every precaution against a surprise; but the Indians were too much injured and disappointed to think of another attack. The boats were found safe at the block-house on the Wabash. The wounded were placed in these, and on the 18th the army reached Vincennes.

In some quarters Governor Harrison was greatly censured on account of the manner and result of this battle. It was claimed that he allowed the Indians to fix the place of his camp; that he allowed himself to be deceived and surprised by the Indians, with whose bad faith he was well acquainted; that he was censurable for not fortifying his camp on the evening and night of the 6th; that he did not conduct himself well during the battle; and that the expedition itself was uncalled for. Besides these were numerous other and more trifling charges, such as his allowing Major Daviess to attempt to rout the Indians, when he should have known that he was rushing to certain death under the circumstances.

On the first point Major Waller Taylor, one of the men sent to select a site for the camp, when the army had arrived before the Indian town, wrote, in 1817:—

“The spot for encampment was selected by Colonel Clarke (who acted as brigade-major to General Boyd) and myself. We were directed by Governor Harrison to examine the country up and down the creek until we should find a suitable place for an encampment. In a short time we discovered the place on which the army encamped, and to which it was conducted by us. No intimation was given by the Indians of their wish that we should encamp there, nor could they possibly have known where the army would encamp until it took its position. . . .

“It has ever been my belief that the position we occupied was the best that could be found anywhere near

us, and I believe that nine-tenths of the officers were of that opinion. We did not go on the Wabash above the town, but I am certain that there was no position below it that was eligible for an encampment."

Other officers also testified to the same effect, and some of them that there was no place either above or below the town on the Wabash.

The representatives of the Prophet assured the Governor that they would be ready on the 7th to make all the satisfactory arrangements for peace, and that they had no other designs. There is no doubt that these representations induced Harrison to omit fortifying his position. Bad faith on the part of the savages had, perhaps, not been the rule, at all events there had been many exceptions in his dealings with them; and the urgency of his instructions from Washington, to avoid war, if possible, led him to favor the best construction of the intentions of the Indians. There was probably not an officer belonging to the expedition who believed, when he went into camp, that there would be a battle, much less that there would be an attack made by the Indians that night.

On any other ground than faith in the present truthfulness of the Indians, it does not appear that either the position chosen for the army, or the neglect to fortify it on the night of the 6th, can be very enthusiastically upheld. The Governor soon saw that the swamps on two sides of his position would prevent the use of his cavalry, which he had desired all the time to make a source of terror and

destruction to the savages. In this position, and without fortifying, the Governor made the best provisions against surprise that was possible without keeping a large part of his force awake and in line of battle during the night.

One strange event occurred in the night which should have alarmed the commander as to the designs of the Prophet, if it had not driven him to make other provisions to defeat the treacherous foe. Ben, a negro, belonging to the expedition, went over to the Indians, before the army went into camp; and although this fact was soon discovered, and the Governor sent for him to be returned, his request was not complied with, and sometime after night Ben actually passed between the pickets without notice, and was discovered standing near the Governor's tent inspecting its position. His conduct was more suspicious, as he had not been in the service of the Governor. The scoundrel was caught, and after the battle tried for desertion and condemned to death. The Governor approved the verdict of the court-martial, but afterwards relented and pardoned Ben. It would be hard to believe that this negro had not been sent to ascertain the position of the Governor's quarters, and the state of the army, with a view of favoring the Indians in making a night attack. And at this distance it is strange that some such view of the designs of the savages was not entertained by Governor Harrison and his officers.

It may be that two other points should be



brought into the account in estimating the exact responsibility and culpability, if any, of Harrison in taking the ground he did for encampment, and leaving it unfortified. These were the belief that the position was unfavorable for an Indian attack at any time, which the Indians must have known, and that a night attack anywhere was unfavorable for them. It has been stated in the defense, too, that the army was unprovided even with axes. But this fact might better be placed on the other side, because these implements should have been as much a part of the equipment of the expedition as anything else.

The claim made by some here and at the Thames, that General Harrison was cowardly, or did not do his duty on the field in battle, was puerile and mean, and hardly worthy of contemptuous notice. As to the expediency and justice of the expedition, the reader must decide from the history already given of affairs on the Wabash. The Administration had been importuned, not only by many of the citizens of Indiana, but also of Illinois. Governor N. Edwards, of that Territory, had repeatedly urged the Secretary of War and the President to use severe measures against the hostile Indians, and was especially active in forwarding the idea of the necessity of this campaign to break up the Prophet's Town, which was becoming more and more daily the center from which parties went out to rob and murder the settlers, and from which it is now

certain a host of wild fiends would in a few months have burst upon the unsuspecting settlements. With all of these views Governor Howard, of Missouri, freely acquiesced. The Prophet had wrought his followers up to a wonderful degree of enthusiasm; and many of them, believing themselves invulnerable to Yankee balls by his sorcery, were ready to undertake anything at his command.

There is no doubt that the Indians did, at the time the army went into camp before their town, design meeting the Governor in council on the following day, when two Indians were to kill the Governor, and a desperate assault be made with the hope of destroying his whole army. It was not until after they had held a council and, perhaps, taken the views of the miscreant Ben, that they decided to make the attack on the first night. Governor Harrison wrote to an acquaintance of himself in the Battle of Tippecanoe in these words:—

“Being then, with both of my aids-de-camp, Taylor and Hurst, in the rear of the right flank line, the fire of several Indians near to the line was directed at us. One of their balls killed the horse Taylor was riding, and another passed through the sleeve of his coat, a third wounded the horse I was riding in the head, and a fourth was very near terminating my earthly career. (A ball had passed through the rim of his hat.) Now what a singular combination of circumstances happened to save me! If I had been mounted on my gray mare, I should have been killed inevitably; and I should have been on her if she had not broken loose in the night.”

Soon after the return of Harrison to Vincennes, he received a letter from Governor Scott, of Kentucky, in which are these words:—

“It is with sincere pleasure I have heard of your safe arrival at Vincennes with the troops under your command, after the rough play you have been engaged in. You have, so far as I can learn, acquitted yourself like a man, and the men you commanded have really done wonders, considering the circumstances. That you would not be wanting on your part was what every one who knew you would naturally expect, and especially one who knew your worth as well as I do.”

In the Kentucky Legislature this resolution was passed:—

“*Resolved*, That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison has, in the opinion of this Legislature, behaved like a hero, patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skillful, and gallant conduct, in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he deserves the warmest thanks of the nation.”

INDIANA LEGISLATURE AND GENERAL HARRISON.

“To His Excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the Indiana Territory:—

“SIR,—The House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory in their own name and in behalf of their constituents, most cordially reciprocate the congratulations of your Excellency on the glorious result of the late sanguinary conflict with the Shawnee Prophet and the tribes of Indians confederated with him. When we see displayed in behalf of our country, not only the consummate abilities of the general, but the heroism of the man, and when we take into view the benefits which must result to that

country, from those exertions, we can not for a moment withhold our meed of applause. . . .

“GEORGE W. JOHNSTONE,

“Speaker of the House of Representatives.

“REPRESENTATIVE CHAMBER, November, 1811.”

In a letter to Governor Charles Scott, dated December 13, 1811, and found in full in Dawson's "Life of Harrison," published in 1824, Governor Harrison gives this statement as to his course in the campaign and battle of Tippecanoe:—

“You wish me to give you some account of the late action, that you may be the better enabled to do me justice against the cavils of ignorance and presumption. I would do this with great pleasure, but the Legislature of this Territory being about to close its session, and having an unusual press of business, I am unable to give you such an account as would be satisfactory. There is, however, the less need of this, as my official account to the Government will probably reach you as soon as this letter.

“It appears to me that, from the hints contained in some of your newspapers, the charge of error in the planning or execution of the late expedition has been more particularly aimed at the President than myself. I most sincerely thank those gentlemen for placing me in such good company; and it is hardly necessary to inform you that the charge against the Administration is as unfounded in this instance as in all others which have flowed from the same source. The orders of the Government (Administration) evinced as much wisdom as humanity. . . .

“My personal enemies here united with the British agents in representing that the expedition was entirely useless, and the Prophet as one of the best and most pacific of mortals, a perfect Shaker in principle, who trembled at the thoughts of spilling blood. Every one of his aggressions upon us was denied or palliated, and excused,

as is the conduct of Great Britain by this same description of people in the Atlantic States. . . .

“An idea seems to prevail in your State that the whole army was completely surprised, and that they were placed in a situation where bravery only could decide the contest, and where there was no opportunity whatever for the exercise of military skill. This was, however, far from being the case. It is true that the two companies forming the left angle of the rear line (Barton’s and Guiger’s) were attacked before they were formed, and that some of the men were killed coming out of their tents; but it is equally true that all the others were formed before they were fired on, and that these two companies lost but a very few men before they were able to resist. Notwithstanding the darkness, the order of battle (such as had been previously prescribed) was taken by all the troops. The officers were active, the men were cool and obedient, and perhaps there never was an action fought, where, for the number of men engaged, there were so many changes of position performed, not in disorder and confusion, but with the strictest military propriety. The companies, both regulars and militia, were extended, contracted, wheeled, marched, and made to file up by word of command. My orders, and they were not a few, were obeyed with promptitude and precision; and if I am not most grossly deceived, all that mutual dependence which ought to exist between a commander and his army was reciprocally felt.

“It has been said that the Indians should have been attacked upon our arrival before their town, on the evening of the 6th. There were two reasons which prevented this: First, that the directions which I received from the Government (Administration) made it necessary that I should endeavor, if possible, to accomplish the object of the expedition (the dispersion of the Prophet’s force) without bloodshed; and secondly, that the success of an attack upon the town by day was very problematical.



“I certainly did not understand my instructions to mean that I should jeopardize the safety of the troops, by endeavoring to bring about an accommodation without fighting. But if I had commenced an attack upon them after they had sent a chief to inform me that they were desirous of an accommodation, and that they had three days before sent a deputation to me for that purpose, who can doubt that a much greater clamor would have been raised than exists at present. The cruelty of attacking those innocent (!) people would have been portrayed in the strongest colors, the Administration would have been represented as murderers, and myself as their wretched instrument.

“But ‘the army was exposed to the nightly incursions of the Indians.’ It has been well observed by a writer in the ‘Argus’ that if ‘nightly incursions’ were really to be so much dreaded by the army they (it) had no business there. But the author of these objections will be still more surprised when he learns that a nightly incursion was precisely what I wished for, because from such a one only could I hope for a decisive action. If they had attacked us by day, they certainly would have done it on ground favorable to their mode of fighting. They would have killed, as in General Wayne’s action, a number of our men, and when pressed they would have escaped with a loss comparatively trifling. In nightly attacks discipline always prevails over disorder; the party which is able longest to preserve its order must succeed. I had with me two hundred and fifty regulars, who were highly disciplined, and my militia had been instructed to form in order of battle to receive an enemy in any direction with facility and precision. But ‘in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy, why were not the troops under arms during the night?’ I answer that troops can only bear a certain portion of fatigue, and when in the presence of an enemy, it is a matter of calculation with the commander,

when they shall be kept under arms, and when permitted to rest. Upon this occasion I must acknowledge that my calculation was erroneous. In common with the whole army, I did believe that they would not attack us that night. If it was their intention to attack, why had they not done it upon our march, when situations favorable to them might have been found? Indeed, within three miles of the town we passed over ground so broken and disadvantageous to us that I was obliged to change the position of the troops several times in the course of a mile. They had fortified their town with care, and with astonishing labor for them, all indicating that they there meant to sustain the shock. It was the scene of those mysterious rites which were so much venerated, and the Prophet had taught his followers to believe that his person and his town were both equally inviolable. I expected that they would have met me the next day, to hear my terms, but I did not believe that they would accede to them, and it was my determination to attack and burn the town the following night; it was therefore necessary that the troops should be as much refreshed as possible. But though the men were not made to remain all night under arms, every other precaution was used, as if an attack had been certain. In fact, the troops were placed precisely in that situation which is called by military men lying on their arms. The regular troops lay in their tents, with their accouterments on and their arms by their sides. The militia had no tents; they slept with their pouches on, and their guns under them to keep them dry. The order of encampment was the order of battle for a night attack, and as every man slept opposite to his post in the line, there was nothing for them to do but to rise and take their post, a few steps in the rear of the fires, and the line was formed in an instant. So little time was required for this operation, that if the guard on the left flank had done their duty as well as the rest of the army, the troops on that flank

would have been formed before the Indians came near them.

“It was my custom every evening, as soon as the army had halted, to examine the ground of the encampment and its environs, and afterwards to call together the field officers of the army, and give them their directions for the night. At those meetings every one was required freely to express his sentiments; every contingency that was likely to happen was discussed. The orders, which were proper to be given to them, were repeated by the field officers to the captains. Every one being by these means possessed of my intentions, there was no room left for mistake or confusion. The orders given on the night of the 6th were solely directed to a night attack. The officers were directed, in case of such an attack, to parade their men in the order in which they were encamped, and that each corps should maintain itself upon its own ground until other orders should be given. With regulations such as these, and with such a state of discipline as we claim, you must allow, my dear sir, that we had no reason to dread ‘a night incursion’ more than an attack by day. . . .

“In my letter to the Secretary it is asserted that the Indians had penetrated to the center of the encampment; but I believe, however, that not more than two had got within the lines; men were certainly killed near the center of the camp, but it must have been by the balls fired from without. From this letter, and the official dispatch to the Secretary of War, you will be enabled, my dear General, to form a correct opinion of the battle of Tippecanoe. When an action is over, and we have time to meditate upon the circumstances which attended it, there is no great judgment necessary to discover some error in the conduct of it, something that was done which might have been better done, or something which was omitted, that if done, might have answered a good purpose.”

Although General Harrison was greatly censured on account of this battle, and for many years his political opponents, and those envious of his successes, used it as a ground of personal assaults upon him, yet it was not long until the great mass of people of all grades of thought and judgment settled down to the conviction that it and the whole expedition against the Shawnee-Shaker Prophet was conducted well, and was in a high sense honorable to the commanding general. And this very battle, about which there was for a time a considerable variety of opinion, finally became one of the most favorable events in his very fortunate career to carry him farther on to public distinction. The very name, *Tippecanoe*, had a charm about it which no amount of opposition or misrepresentation could put down; until, in 1840, it swept every political device, the "Hero of New Orleans," and every other obstruction, from before it. Besides the force there is in the reputation of successful military services, even in this peaceful, calm, calculating, money-loving Republic, there is also a power, a fascination, something, in a name. Had there been a *Tippecanoe*, a *Rough-and-Ready*, or an *Old Hickory*, in the life of Henry Clay, what the Great Commoner was unable to do by his silver tongue and magnificent qualities, that is, reach the seat of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, in the line of Presidents, would have been done for him by the songs and shouts of the "sovereign people."

## CHAPTER XI.

THE HONORS OF TIPPECANOE—TECUMSEH—WHAT WAS HE?—GOVERNOR HARRISON'S MILITARY FORTUNES.

SOON after these exciting events the Legislature of Indiana convened, and the winter of 1811 was a busy period in the life of General Harrison. On the 5th of December the Legislature with some degree of unanimity adopted a resolution of thanks to Governor Harrison, to which he replied in his usually earnest and intense manner. Colonel Boyd was also thanked by the little Legislature for his services at the Tippecanoe. But as there had been some disparaging talk about Boyd saving the desperate contest, the Governor took offense at this act of the Legislature, and declared that all the army had alike behaved nobly, Colonel Boyd and all, and all deserved such praise. This spirit induced the House to heap another eulogy upon the patriotic, Quixotic Governor, terminating with this sentiment: "But they generally agree that the laurels won, principally, ought to be the property of the Commander-in-chief." This again cleared the sky. Strange infatuation, that men doing their duty, of their own will, should ever need to be told, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!"

Colonel John P. Boyd was born near Boston,



Massachusetts, and was the brother of Hugh Boyd, claimed by many as the author of the famous letters of "Junius." Boyd was of a military turn, and like many other Americans went to Asia in search of adventure in that line. He met with success, but believing his own country would soon furnish employment suited to his taste, he had returned to America in time to take an early and honorable part in the War of 1812, as well as in its prelude, the Indian war on the frontier.

Early in December, deputations of Indians from the Kickapoo, Winnebago, and other tribes began to appear at Fort Harrison and Vincennes, deploring their evil course under the Prophet, and desiring to enter into their former relations with the United States. But Governor Harrison was suspicious as to their pretensions, and held little communication with them. The Prophet had gone among the Delawares, and his followers had mainly dispersed, those from the northern tribes going to their distant villages. Some of them made loud threats against the Prophet, accusing him of being the source of all their recent troubles. But notwithstanding all their pretensions and stories, there was really little ground for confidence in these Indians. This much and more may be seen from the following letter from the old Miami chief:—

MISCHECANOCQUAH TO GOVERNOR HARRISON.

"FORT WAYNE, January 25, 1812.

"GOVERNOR HARRISON:—

"MY FRIEND,—I have been requested by my nation to speak to you, and I obey their request with pleasure,

because I believe their situation requires all the aid I can afford them.

“When your speech by Mr. Dubois was received by the Miamis, they answered it, and I made known to you their opinion at that time.

“Your letter to William Wells of the 23d November last, has been explained to the Miamis and Eel River tribes of Indians.

“My Friend, although neither of these tribes have had any thing to do with the late unfortunate affair which happened on the Wabash, still they all rejoice to hear you say, that if those foolish Indians which were engaged in that action would return to their several homes and remain quiet, they would be pardoned, and again received by the President as his children. We believe there is none of them that will be so foolish as not to accept of this friendly offer; whilst at the same time, I assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to prevail on them to accept it.

“All the Prophet’s followers have left him (with the exception of two camps of his own tribe). Tecumseh has just joined him with eight men only. No danger can be apprehended from them at present. Our eyes will be constantly kept on them, and should they attempt to gather strength again, we will do all in our power to prevent it, and at the same time give you immediate information of their intentions.

“We are sorry that the peace and friendship which has so long existed between the red and white people could not be preserved, without the loss of so many good men as fell on both sides in the late action on the Wabash; but we are satisfied that it will be the means of making that peace which ought to exist between us, more respected, both by the red and the white people.

“We have been lately told, by different Indians from that quarter, that you wished the Indians from this country

to visit you ; this they will do with pleasure when you give them information of it in writing.

“My Friend, the clouds appear to be rising in a different quarter, which threatens to turn our light into darkness. To prevent this, it may require the united efforts of us all. We hope that none of us will be found to shrink from the storm that threatens to burst upon our nations. Your friend,

✂ MISCHECANOCQUAH,  
“or LITTLE TURTLE.

“For the Miami and Eel River tribes of Indians.

“*Witness:* WM. TURNER, Surgeon's Mate, United States Army.

“I certify that the above is a true translation.

“W. WELLS.”

Little Turtle evidently believed that a great war with England was about to break upon this country, and although he would have stood by his sworn friendship to the United States, he knew well that chances were in favor of his being alone in that position among his own people. He did not live, however, to fall a prey to the treachery of his own race, or see any of the great struggle which he predicted. He died early in the spring of 1812, of what the white surgeon called gout.

The pressing demand for regulars made it necessary for the Secretary of War to take steps for the removal of the 4th Infantry from the Wabash. This Governor Harrison urged as inexpedient, unless others were substituted for them. The President had been authorized to raise six companies of rangers, a very inadequate force for the protection of the frontier, and the Governor was in the meantime to use such expedients as he could. It looked as if

the War Department was going to desert the people on the exposed western border.

In March, 1812, most of the Indians who had been with the Prophet, all but the Shawnees, sent representatives to Vincennes to re-establish friendly relations; but little was done more than to make arrangements to forward the chiefs to Washington. The Governor assured the Indians that Tecumseh, who had returned in January, had written (through the hand of another) to him to notify him of his return, and his readiness to go to see the President; but although he should accompany them to Washington, he should represent nobody. It was designed to send these Indians to see the President in April, but events now rapidly occurred which turned the direction of affairs. The savages began, soon after agreeing to send their leaders to Washington, to murder white families over the country in such a way as to alarm the whole Territory, and greatly interfere with the concentration of the militia, men being required to defend their own neighborhood. The people began to leave the country; even Vincennes was considered an unsafe retreat.

About the middle of May twelve tribes sent representatives to a big council among themselves on the Mississinniway. The Prophet had again taken up his residence on the Tippecanoe.

In one of Tecumseh's speeches at this council he was reported as saying in his own defense:—

“We defy a living creature to say we ever advised any one, directly or indirectly, to make war on our white

brothers. It has constantly been our misfortune to have our views misrepresented to our white brethren. This has been done by pretended chiefs of the Pottawatomies and others, that have been in the habit of selling land to the white people that did not belong to them."

The general sentiment of this council was for peace; but it was clear enough that Tecumseh had not abandoned his scheme, although what he termed the Prophet's precipitancy had destroyed the great instrument he had hoped to make so effectual in carrying it out, the supernatural pretensions of his brother. Although great stress has been placed upon the achievements of Tecumseh in forming an alliance of all the North American Indians on the foundation of undivided ownership of the land, adherence to ancient customs of the race, and resistance to the advances of the white people, yet this he never accomplished. His tour to the South was effective only in starting a war mainly confined to the Creeks and Seminoles, which terminated in breaking their power forever, and taking from them finally all of their country east of the Mississippi. From the South he brought no followers, and when he returned he found the power of his brother gone, and most of the creatures of his delusions scattered among their own tribes, the older and wiser leaders of which never having looked with much respect upon his schemes. While it is true that most of the tribes north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi had assented to the alliance, as tribes they did not show their faith in its value or probable success, and



only some of the most reckless, restless, and warlike actually joined the Prophet. In the course of the three or more years in which the Prophet was on the Tippecanoe hundreds and hundreds from the northern tribes visited him; but few of them staid, however much they, for a time, believed in his marvelous endowments. Much has also been written to prove that Tecumseh was possessed of many great and statesmanlike qualities. His first qualities exhibited in his intercourse with the whites, his dealings being mainly confined to General Harrison, were duplicity and insincerity. While he boldly asserted the general purpose he had in view of uniting all the Indians, he denied his designs of making war on the whites, or that he was unfriendly to them, constantly holding out the pretensions of peace, and to the last the gathering at the Prophet's Town he held to be peaceful in its intentions; and even after he returned from the South, where the tomahawk was dug up at his instance, and the murder of the whites was the daily occupation of his race. While denying that he meant war, or ever had meant war, upon the Americans, he had, from the very inception of his scheme, been aiming at this end, and laboring with uncommon zeal for bringing about a state of affairs among his followers to make war successful. He had the power to form a plan, and work with unusual perseverance for its fulfillment. The killing of women and children and helpless prisoners he was above. His sense of superiority and power made such a thing hateful to him. That any true

elements of greatness were found in this disposition may be doubted; yet it is quite certain that Tecumseh took no pleasure in beholding studied and designed torture. Brave he was, there can be no question. But this kind of bravery is not greatness, nor has it, perhaps, any of the elements of true greatness in it. Most animals have it. To despise danger and death for a great principle, for a great moral purpose; to forget life to save another from imminent danger or death, seems to be great; but the lowest animal will fight to overcome, to destroy life, or even to save it; the bravery of rage, of passion, of hatred, of envy, of love, of conquest, of blood-thirstiness, of the brute, has in it nothing great. No merely beastly or animal trait is great, although it may be almost all-powerful. Tecumseh was a powerful animal, a powerful savage, with few of the qualities of a great human being.

Governor Harrison's preparations for sending the chiefs to Washington were greatly interfered with, and finally stopped altogether, by more serious matters. Notwithstanding the pretensions of Tecumseh and other Indians, the murder of white people now became frequent, and universal alarm spread along the borders; and when war was declared against England in June, 1812, Governor Harrison made every exertion to organize the militia, and put the country in a state of defense. In July he passed through the Territory to Jeffersonville, with a view to examining the condition of the militia, and continued his journey to Cincinnati. At this time

he received the following letter from the Secretary of War:—

“WAR DEPARTMENT, July 9, 1812.

“SIR,—By letter from Governor Edwards it appears that the Indians are again collecting. Should the regular troops and rangers under Colonel Russell, with the reinforcements ordered to be furnished on your requisition, be inadequate to the protection of the frontier, your Excellency will please to consult with Governor Edwards, and to request from the Governor of Kentucky such detachments from the militia of that State as emergencies may require. The Governor of Kentucky will be advised of this instruction to your Excellency, and no doubt can be entertained of his cheerful co-operation. Should offensive measures become necessary, the command within the Indiana Territory will devolve upon you; and with the consent of Governor Edwards your military command may be extended in the Illinois Territory.

“With great respect, etc.,

W. EUSTIS.”

On the 6th of August Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War that he was on the point of starting to Frankfort, Kentucky, to make arrangement with Governor Scott as to the troops to be furnished from that State. In this letter he recommended the propriety of keeping a force in Indiana and Illinois sufficient to operate against the hostile Indians to prevent their going to the British; and said in conclusion:—

“The difficulty of settling drafts for small sums with an account annexed, as has been my practice for the contingent accounts, has induced me to draw on you in favor of the cashier of the Miami Exporting Company for one hundred dollars to pay expresses and other expenses of

the kind. There is, indeed, so little demand for drafts at this time, that there is a great probability that money will be wanted for the public service in the Western country, unless it is sent on from the Atlantic States."

This brief extract sets forth Governor Harrison's method of keeping accounts with and handling the money of the Government. At the end of his long service as Governor of Indiana, there were no difficult transactions to be settled. He avoided the handling of the public funds only as they were directly receipted for and appropriated to the use designed. He allowed himself to keep no money on hand. As the expenses were formed he drew directly on the Secretary of War for the amount to be used.

Four days after the date of this letter, Harrison again wrote to the Secretary from Lexington, Kentucky, where he had met Henry Clay and other advocates of the war, who being pleased with his views urged him to put them before the War Department. This letter states as his opinion that a chain of forts should be established from the Mississippi mainly by way of the Illinois River to Chicago, and supported by an army of five thousand troops; or if this course should not be pursued, a considerable force should be gathered at Fort Wayne for the purpose of keeping open the communications to Hull at Detroit, and being ready to co-operate against the British and their Indian allies; that it was probable the fall of Mackinaw would encourage the Indians to join the British; that Hull would be put on the defensive, if not finally forced to surrender; that

without such a force on the line of communication with Detroit, all its supplies would eventually be cut off; that even now the small force under Samuel Wells moving to Hull's succor would have to fight its way through; that the failure of Wells to reach Detroit would be followed by the surrender of that place; that the supplies on the way to Hull's army were not sufficient, if they were got through; that afterwards small convoys would not be able to reach the army at Detroit; that the British, commanding all the avenues, would cut off all supplies; that a considerable army was necessary to prevent misfortune in this quarter; that an army operating from Fort Wayne could be supplied from the rich valleys of the Ohio; that such an army would overawe the Indians south of Lake Michigan, and protect Chicago, and also Indiana and Illinois from the depredations of the savages. This force he did not design, perhaps, for more than this service and for keeping the way open to the army operating against the British in Upper Canada.

Tecumseh had by this time joined the British at Malden, and the Prophet by his instruction was again on the Tippecanoe, attempting to raise a force to strike Vincennes and other settlements. This he was unable to do, however, and soon after abandoned his town.

On the 18th of August Harrison was at Louisville equipping and sending forward the troops gathering there, and from here he again wrote to the Secretary of War as to his progress, and the steps taken to



raise troops in Kentucky, and stating that mounted men were offering to serve in considerable numbers from that State, and that a general feeling of enthusiasm pervaded the West in support of the measures of the Administration. While at Louisville he received letters from Zachary Taylor, then a captain in command of a small body of men at Fort Harrison, detailing a desperate assault made on that post by the Prophet. Having completed the necessary arrangements, and started forward the troops from Jeffersonville, Harrison again returned to Frankfort to complete the arrangements for troops with Governor Scott, whose term of office was about expiring. Harrison was a favorite with Scott and many Kentuckians, and was received on these energetic trips through the State with great favor. In the meantime throughout the West preparations for war were active. The management of General Hull was not approved, and an unfortunate ending to the campaign which promised so much in that quarter was expected. Return Jonathan Meigs gathered twelve hundred men under General Tupper at Urbana to march to the relief of General Hull at Detroit. The following order will indicate the activity of old Governor Scott, who never allowed his State to lag when there was a prospect of an Indian fight:—

“FRANKFORT, August 6, 1812.

“SIR,—Yourself, with the rifle regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant John Allen; the 1st Regiment of Infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant John M. Scott, and the 5th Regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant

William Lewis; all of the detachment from the militia of Kentucky, under the act of Congress of the 10th of April last, will march to join General Hull in Canada; for which purpose, you, with the said regiments, will rendezvous at Georgetown, in Kentucky, on the 15th instant, when and where you will receive further orders.

“The men will furnish themselves with provisions and the necessary conveyance to the rendezvous at Georgetown. You will thence be furnished with provisions and the necessary means of conveyance for the residue of the march. Arrangements will be made for the arms, ammunition, and camp equipage to be furnished at Newport, if not sooner.

“Should any of the companies reside contiguous to Newport, so that it would be more convenient for them to make their first rendezvous there, you may at your discretion so order it; but not to be later than the 18th instant, so that they may be ready to join the detachment on their arrival at that place.

“I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

“CHS. SCOTT.

“By the Governor: FIELDING WINLOCK, Secretary.

“Brigadier-General JOHN PAYNE.”

Some difficulty now arose as to the command of the force from Kentucky. Harrison's right to command was confined to Indiana and Illinois, and the disposition in Kentucky and at Detroit was in favor of his leading the troops designed for the re-enforcement of Hull. McAfee, in his history of the war in the West, gives this account of the way the matter was settled:—

“A few days before the actual attack on Detroit by General Brock, an express had been sent by General Hull to hasten the re-enforcements which had been ordered to join him from Kentucky. By this conveyance several

of the principal officers of the army had written to their friends in Cincinnati, as well as to the Governor of Kentucky, stating their entire want of confidence in their commander, and their apprehensions of some fatal disaster from his miserable arrangements and apparent imbecility and cowardice. These letters also declared it to be the common wish of the army that General Harrison should accompany the expected re-enforcements. He was also very popular in Kentucky, and was anxiously desired as their commander by the troops marching from that State to the north-western army. But the authority with which he had been invested by the President did not entitle him to command any corps which was not intended for operations in the western territories.

"The question of giving Harrison the command of the detachment on the march from Kentucky for Detroit presented great difficulties to the mind of Governor Scott. The motives to make the appointment were numerous. He had ample testimony of its being the wish of the army at Detroit. The 4th United States Regiment in particular, which had acquired so much fame at Tippecanoe under the command of Harrison, he was assured by an officer of that corps, were eager to see their old commander again placed over them. The same desire was felt by the Kentucky militia; and the citizens echoed their sentiments in every part of the State. To these may be added his own ardent attachment to Governor Harrison, and entire confidence in his fitness for the command.

"The obstacles in the way of the appointment were, that Harrison was not a citizen of Kentucky, the laws of which would not sanction the appointment of any other to an office in the militia; and that a Major-General had already been appointed for the detached militia, one only being required and admissible in that corps. Had Governor Scott been capable of shrinking from his duty

and the responsibility of the occasion, he might have easily evaded this delicate business, as the day on which he was deliberating upon it was the last but one that he had to remain in office.

“That he might, however, neither act unadvisedly, nor appear to assume too much, in this situation, he determined to ask the advice of the Governor elect and such members of Congress and officers of the general and State governments as could be conveniently collected. At this caucus, composed of Governor Shelby, the Hon. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress, the Hon. Thomas Todd, Judge of the Federal Court, etc., it was unanimously resolved to recommend to Governor Scott to give Harrison a brevet commission of Major-General in the Kentucky militia, and authorize him to take command of the detachment now marching to Detroit; and to re-enforce it with another regiment which he had called into service, and an additional body of mounted volunteer riflemen. The Governor conferred the appointment agreeably to their advice, which was received with general approbation by the people, and was hailed by the troops at Cincinnati with the most enthusiastic joy.”

On the 25th of August this plan of advancing Harrison over old General Winchester was carried into effect, by Governor Scott commissioning him a Major-General of Kentucky militia, contrary to the law provided in such cases. On the same day General Harrison set out for Cincinnati, which he reached on the 27th, having traveled on horseback day and night. On the next day he took command of the troops now arrived from Kentucky, and Winchester returned to Lexington.

At this time Harrison wrote to the Secretary of

War, after telling him how he had become a Major-General, and taken command of the troops from Kentucky then at Cincinnati:—

“I shall march to-morrow morning with the troops that I have here, taking the route of Dayton and Piqua. The relief of Fort Wayne will be my first object, and my after operations will be governed by circumstances, until I receive your directions. Considering my command as merely provisional, I shall cheerfully conform to any other arrangement which the Government may think proper to make.

“The troops which I have with me, and those which are coming on from Kentucky, are, perhaps, the best materials for forming an army that the world has produced. But no equal number of men was ever collected who knew so little of military discipline; nor have I any assistance that can give me the least aid, if even there were time for it, but Captain Adams of the 4th Regiment, who was left here sick, and whom I have appointed Deputy Adjutant-General until the pleasure of the President can be known. He is well qualified, and I hope the appointment will be confirmed.

“You may rely, sir, upon my utmost exertions; but the confusion which exists in every department connected with the army is such as can only be expected from men who are perfectly new to the business in which they are engaged.

“No arms for cavalry have yet arrived at Newport, and I shall be forced to put muskets in the hands of all the dragoons. I have written to the quartermaster at Pittsburg to request him to forward all the supplies of arms, equipments, and quartermaster stores as soon as possible. I have also requested him to send down a few pieces of artillery, without waiting for your order, and wait your instruction as to a further number.”



On the following day, August 29th, Harrison again wrote to the Secretary of War:—

“The troops marched this morning for Piqua. I shall follow and overtake them to-morrow. Another letter was received from General Worthington last evening, covering one from Captain Rhea, of Fort Wayne, stating that a large body of Indians was near the fort, and he expected to be attacked that night. I shall lose not a moment in marching to his relief. . . .

“Permit me to recommend that a considerable supply of tents, swords, and pistols, camp-kettles, cartridge-boxes, rifle-flints, and artificers’ tools of every description, be forwarded immediately, as well as the artillery and every species of ordnance stores. Medicine, instruments, and hospital stores of every description, will also be wanted for the large force which it will require to reinstate our affairs on the north-western frontier. It is important, also, that some disciplined troops should be sent here; a company or two of artillery and an experienced engineer will be indispensable.

“I have caused a traveling force to be prepared, and ammunition-wagons are now building. It appeared to me, sir, that it was necessary that some one should undertake the general direction of affairs here, and I have done it.

“The critical situation of affairs in this country, in my opinion, authorized a departure from the common line of procedure (to wait for orders), and should it be considered by Government to have been improper, I shall hope to be pardoned for the purity of my intentions. You may rely on it, sir, that the Western country was never so agitated by alarm and mortification as at this time.”

Thus far there had little occurred to turn General Harrison from the direct road to fame. Nothing,

indeed, but the most decided and flattering prosperity had attended him at every step. His course as Governor of Indiana had been very much to his credit. The Administrations under which he had served placed a high value upon his conduct and character. And his dealings with the Indians, and his soldierly qualities made him a favorite with the people of the West. He had just been received with extraordinary favor by the people of Kentucky, and his especial admirer, the patriotic governor of that State, had gone out of the way of law and custom to make him outrank any officer of the Government under whom the Kentucky troops would probably have to serve. Harrison's standing in the West was well known and appreciated in other parts of the Nation. In speaking of the military movements in the West at this time, "Niles' Register" says: "Many detachments of volunteers are still marching from Kentucky to the frontiers, under the command of the much-beloved Harrison. We confidently trust that glory will attend them."

The Administration did not go as fast in advancing the interests of Harrison as the good-will of his Western friends indicated, and as they showed by their own actions, as will presently appear. One of his most earnest friends, and one who had been first in promoting all his schemes, and in giving him praise for every good quality, word, and act, had now done him the last favor in his power, and himself retired from public life deservedly high in the estimation of his countrymen. Few names were better known and

more highly esteemed throughout the West from the organization of the North-western Territory than that of Charles Scott, the retiring Governor of Kentucky. This brave old soldier died late in the winter of 1814, before peace had again smiled upon his country.

Harrison pushed on to Dayton and Piqua, being everywhere received with demonstrations of great confidence. Ohio was not behind Kentucky in her estimation of his character. That State, like her neighbor across the river, was fortunate in having able and patriotic executives, who were fully in harmony with the people and the National Administration.

The surrender of Hull was one of those peculiar calamities which are not without benefits. Although Hull had allowed Upper Canada to slip out of his grasp, and in addition to that had given away to the British, for their asking, a very respectable sized and brave army, with Detroit and all the territory over which he presided as governor, yet all of this had aroused the patriotism and the furious resentment of the country. Especially did the people of the West fly to arms in the hope of retrieving the shame and the loss. With an able leader in whom the utmost confidence could be placed, the recovery of the lost ground, and even the conquest of Upper Canada, did not yet seem at all improbable.

## CHAPTER XII.

A MAJOR-GENERAL OF KENTUCKY MILITIA—HARRISON  
AND WINCHESTER—DOWNFALL OF WILLIAM  
HULL—HIS SERVICES AND CHARACTER.

WHILE on his way to Piqua General Harrison received the following letter from Winchester, which temporarily changed the aspect of affairs:—

“LEXINGTON, 31st August, 2 o'clock A. M., 1812.

“SIR,—I herewith send you the copy of a letter this moment received from the Assistant Adjutant-General. I shall follow the army to-morrow, or the next day, in order to take command agreeably to the orders of the Secretary of War. It may be perceived that Government was not apprised of the surrender of General Hull and his army when the order alluded to was written, and there is no doubt before I reach the army further orders with relation to its operations will be received. It will be very agreeable to me to be associated with you in command.”

William Hull was born at Derby, Connecticut, June 24, 1753. His grandfather was a native of Derbyshire, England. He graduated at Yale College in 1772. He studied theology a year, then went into Litchfield Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1775. In 1775, at the age of twenty-two, Hull raised a company of infantry, left his law

profession, and with his company joined a Connecticut regiment, one of the first coming forward to swell the force of Washington besieging Boston. He was with his regiment in the battle of Long Island; was wounded by a musket-ball at White Plains; was with Lee's army when that officer was captured by the British in New Jersey; was in the battle of Trenton; induced his company to re-enlist at the expiration of their time of service; led them in the battle of Princeton; for his good conduct in these battles, at the request of Washington, was advanced to the rank of Major in the Massachusetts line; joined the regiment to which he was attached at Boston, and led it to Ticonderoga in the spring of 1777; joined General Schuyler after the retreat from Ticonderoga, and at the head of three hundred men as a rear guard drew the first fire of the enemy in a severe engagement at Saratoga; served under Gates in the battles resulting in the surrender of Burgoyne; went with his regiment to join Washington in Pennsylvania, and commanded the 8th Massachusetts in the battle of Monmouth; was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for gallant services at Stony Point; and his subsequent conduct, till the close of the war in 1783, was of a highly praiseworthy character. When his regiment was disbanded, he turned to the practice of the law at Newton, Massachusetts; was quite successful; was sent as an Indian commissioner to the West in 1793; was a General of militia in Massachusetts; was for a time judge of the Common Pleas Court in that State;



and was Governor of Michigan Territory from 1805 to the time of his downfall, at the beginning of the War of 1812.

Nearly four months before the declaration of war in 1812, a little army was gathered in Ohio, and the command given to Hull in April of that year. On the 10th of May he reached Cincinnati, where he found that Governor Meigs had done everything possible to have the troops ready. This force was to consist of twelve hundred Ohio militia under Duncan McArthur, Lewis Cass, and James Findlay, and the 4th United States Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller, about three hundred strong, from Post Vincennes. Notwithstanding the efforts of Governor Meigs, Hull found his militia without discipline, poorly equipped, and without ammunition. On his own responsibility he sent to Kentucky for powder, and put all the gunsmiths of Cincinnati and Dayton to work on the guns. Early in June he set forward from Urbana, where two of the small regiments joined him, on the long march of two hundred miles through the wilderness to Detroit. At the end of the month, after stopping to build two block-houses on the way, he reached the Maumee, where he constructed another block-house, and on two small boats shipped the disabled of his army, and all his papers and baggage not needed on the march. He now received, by way of Cleveland, a short letter from the Secretary of War, dated June 18th, stating that war had been declared, and urging him to hurry on to Detroit, and, while making such arrangements

as he found necessary for the protection of his posts, wait further orders. On the 24th he also received a letter from Secretary Eustis, urging him on to Detroit, but actually saying nothing of the beginning of the war with England. The British had heard of this before Hull, and, when his vessels carrying his baggage and about sixty of his men entered Detroit River at Fort Malden, they took possession of them without resistance. This was an irreparable stroke against the success of Hull's expedition. On the 5th of July he reached Detroit, where the old General considered it proper for his men to rest and wash their clothes. But this delay did not satisfy Cass and other officers, and men who thought they were squandering the proper time to strike, and accordingly they urged him to cross into Canada at once. But, strangely enough, Hull did not deem himself authorized to take that step.

This was the 9th of July, and on the same day he received a letter from the Secretary of War in which were these words: "Should the force under your command be equal to the enterprise, consistent with the safety of your own posts, you will take possession of Malden, and extend your conquests as circumstances may justify." This letter bore date of June 24th, and was considered by Hull as his passport to Canada. He immediately returned a reply to the War Department, in which he stated that the British had taken post opposite Detroit; that he would soon be able to dislodge them; that they commanded the Indians and the waters; that he

doubted his ability to take Fort Malden, at Amherstburg; and ended with the ominous injunction: "You must not be too sanguine." Hull construed his instructions very literally. "Should the force under your command be equal to the enterprise," was an advantage in the instructions which gave him comfort. The case was discretionary with him after all.

On the morning of the 12th he crossed into Canada with the greater part of his force, and on the same day issued the following rather pretentious proclamation, made more pretentious by the little he did to render it anything more than ridiculous to himself and his country:—

BY WILLIAM HULL,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTH-  
WESTERN ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,

### *A Proclamation.*

"INHABITANTS OF CANADA:—

"After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country, and the standard of Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitant it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them; I come to protect, not to injure you.

"Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct; you have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask

you to avenge the one, or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, and which conducted us safe and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution; that liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any country.

“In the name of my country, and by the authority of Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes, pursue your peaceful and customary avocations, raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance; but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency; I have a force which will look down all opposition. And that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages be let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt

with the scalping-knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner; instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, can not prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness; I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose, then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hands the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness!

“By the General.

A. P. HULL,

“Captain of the 13th U. S. Regiment of Infantry  
and Aid de Camp.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, SANDWICH, July 12, 1812.”

Hull's own apprehensions of the little good to come from all this did not increase with his pretensions. He had from the time he received information concerning the declaration of war, and the loss of his baggage, entertained doubts of his success, and these doubts grew with the uncertain reports daily received as to the strength and movements of the enemy. His mind seemed to be mainly occupied with two great questions, his responsibilities and the uncertain intentions of his earnest foe. His little army had brought no artillery, and there was some delay in getting over a few of the heavy guns from Detroit, as it was the general opinion of his officers that no movement should be made on Malden without these guns. Hull's fears increased. The surrender



of Mackinaw turned more unoccupied British and Indians against him. The Canadians did not take up with his proclamation. Upper Canada had a considerable militia force, more than five times his own strength. He felt himself to be mistaken in his former belief that these people would gladly avail themselves of an opportunity to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain. He soon heard and heeded reports of the coming of troops from below to the aid of Fort Malden; and believed that he should get no help from General Dearborn, whose armistice was, indeed, operating greatly to his disadvantage by turning the British loose upon him. His fears got the mastery, and finally on the morning of the 8th of August, against the almost unanimous protest of his army, he actually recrossed to Detroit.

He had previously sent Major Van Horne with a small force to meet Captain Henry Brush at the River Raisin with cattle and provisions for the army; and Van Horne had fallen into an ambuscade at Brownstown, and was forced to retreat with considerable loss. On the 8th, immediately after crossing to the "American" side, he sent six hundred men with two guns, under Colonel Miller, to make another attempt to open his communication to the River Raisin. About fourteen miles from Detroit, Miller fell upon the Indians and British, and after a hard battle defeated them. But re-enforcements not reaching him, Miller was obliged to return to Detroit. Cass and McArthur undertook afterwards, by a circuitous route, to march to the River Raisin, but they

were recalled, and Brush finding the true state of the case at Detroit made his way with his men back to Ohio, although Hull actually included him in the surrender at Detroit, which he had not reached by fifty miles.

On the 15th of August General Isaac Brock asked Hull to surrender. This was a strange proceeding on the part of Brock. He was then at Sandwich, had just arrived there, and under the impression that Hull was afraid to fight, and did not seem much disposed to hurt anybody, and would probably surrender at once, he sent this invitation over the river to him. This proposition temporarily elevated Hull's blood, or something, and this reply was returned:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DETROIT, August 15, 1812.

“SIR,—I have no other reply to make, than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make.”

But the courage here indicated oozed out by the next day, when he had fairly reviewed his situation. He was then surrounded, and cut off from supplies, and concluding from the best information he could collect that he would soon be compelled to surrender under more unfavorable circumstances, concluded to capitulate without firing a gun when the British and Indians appeared before the fort on the 16th. And immediately after this business was so happily finished Brock issued in turn this proclamation, much

more to the point and soldierly than Hull's had been to the Canadians:—

“Whereas the Territory of Michigan was this day, by capitulation, ceded to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, without any other condition than the protection of private property; and wishing to give an early proof of the moderation and justice of the government, I do hereby announce to all the inhabitants of the said Territory that the laws heretofore in existence shall continue in force until his majesty's pleasure be known, or so long as the peace and safety of the said Territory will admit thereof. And I do hereby also declare and make known to the said inhabitants that they shall be protected in the full exercise and enjoyment of their religion, of which all persons, both civil and military, will take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

“All persons having in their possession, or having any knowledge of any public property, shall forthwith deliver in the same, or give notice thereof to the officer commanding, or Lieutenant-Colonel Nichol, who are hereby authorized to receive and give proper receipts for the same.

“Officers of the militia will be held responsible that all arms in possession of the militia men be immediately delivered up; and all individuals, whatever, who have in their possession arms of any kind, will deliver them up without delay.

“Given under my hand, at Detroit, this 16th day of August, 1812, and in the 52d year of his majesty's reign.

“(Signed,) ISAAC BROCK, Major-General.

“A true copy.

“J. MACDONELL, Lieutenant-Colonel Militia and A. D. C.”

The prisoners were soon afterwards paroled, and Hull started with his daughter on his way down the Lakes. At Albany he was relieved, and sent to his

home at Newton, Massachusetts, to await his trial for treason, cowardice, etc. The court-martial was made up early in November, but did not meet until January 3, 1813, at Albany. P. S. Parker was Judge-Advocate, and General Henry Dearborn, the commander of the armies at the North, the senior officer, and virtual Commander-in-chief, was the president of the court. The proceedings were continued till the 28th of March, resulting in the verdict of guilty, and Hull was condemned to be shot. But President Madison pardoned him, on account of his Revolutionary services.

In 1824, Hull published a report and defense of his campaign in an appeal to the people. In this appeal he attempts to show that his trial and condemnation were brought about by Dearborn and the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, to clear themselves from public blame. But this attempt to prove himself comparatively blameless is mainly in the mildest and most subdued tone possible, and of itself fully portrays that weakness and lack of energy and strength which were at the foundation of his utter failure as a military chief.

The effect of Hull's surrender throughout the country was to arouse two sentiments, especially in the West, one of utter and unqualified condemnation of Hull, and the other a determination to recover what he had lost, not by inability, it was said, but by treason. The newspapers of that day generally took this view of Hull's case. Some of the best of them said he was another Arnold; that he had been

bought. And for years afterwards writers of some respectability adhered to the same opinion; even at this day the same old charges are to be met with. Yet the general opinion has long been averse to any such wholly improbable charges. Hull was tried for treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct. The first item was not maintained in the court; but for the others he was condemned to die. The officers under him, who were mainly ambitious, unmilitary young men, were violently against him in the trial. On the 10th of September Lewis Cass wrote a long letter to the Secretary of War, in which he stated that a plan had been set on foot for depriving Hull of his command, which was only prevented from going into effect by the two leaders, McArthur and himself, being sent on the expedition towards the River Raisin.

The animosities engendered in the camp against Hull extended to the court-martial at Albany. And the Commander-in-chief and Secretary of War can hardly be held as blameless in their connection with Hull's case at any time from the beginning of his march into the wilderness until his conviction on two of the charges brought against him. The charge that he was bought, that he sent his baggage and papers down the Maumee and up to Malden purposely to fall into British hands, was ridiculous, and wholly unfounded on any fact connected with the history of the case. The idea, largely prevalent, that treachery was everywhere at the bottom of his actions throughout the campaign, was like the



myriads of baseless surmises that fill and fret the world as to the unknown motives which control the deeds of men. Hull was no traitor. The tendency at the outset of this war was to select for leaders men who had seen service in the Revolution, and whose ages were supposed to present no serious impediment to vigorous conduct in the field. This course threw at the head of the armies, to a great extent, as also into the Department of War, men who were least conspicuously connected with the War of Independence, as they only were yet of an age to make their services at all reliable in the field. While this appeared to be a necessity, it was a mistake, and resulted in misfortune.

Hull had been a brave young soldier, and few subaltern officers of the Revolution made a more honorable record. Thirty years of peace had cooled his military ardor. He had become averse to the shedding of blood; and age and a mind naturally cautious and hesitating rendered him unfit to command. The fear that appeared behind all his acts was not the dread of personal danger. He hesitated in crossing the Detroit River because he doubted his authority. When he was over, he hastened to issue a proclamation which meant more than he could carry out; and when he slunk away from an attempt to make it good, he seemed actuated by a dread of the position making him responsible amidst what appeared to him accumulating uncertainties for the safety of the great number of his countrymen under his command. And at the last hour, when

he had, with an air of undecided hardihood and boldness, declared his disposition to resist, as perhaps his Government would expect of him, his sense of the responsibility of his position, and his erroneous opinion that the result would in the end be the same with or without a battle, led him to give up his sword, and surrender an enraged army as prisoners of war. His conduct was throughout undoubtedly not that of either a daring or a wise leader. He now lacked these qualities; and it was the misfortune of his country and himself that he was called from the peaceful pursuits in which he was fitted to end an otherwise honorable career.

The course pursued in his trial was evidently lacking in some of the elements of fairness which should have characterized it, and showed that other hands than Mr. Madison's were its managers. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this trial was the dissolution of the first-named court, and the placing of General Dearborn at the head of the new one. Taking the Commander-in-chief of the army from his duty in the field at such an important period was certainly not wise, and was besides giving the case more importance than it deserved. It was well for the memory of Mr. Madison and his countrymen that the decree of the court in this shameful case was never carried out. Poor Hull spent the remainder of his days in comparative seclusion, and died at Newton, Massachusetts, November 29, 1825.

In the meantime Harrison could not be idle,

although the army gathering under him was unfit in discipline or equipments for an offensive campaign. One defect he set about to remedy by his own personal efforts and the aid of the few officers who knew anything of military tactics; and the other, by frequent letters to the Secretary of War, he hoped to see speedily bettered by the activity and zeal of that officer, although not a soldier himself. Two expeditions were now sent out—one to the Wabash, and another towards Lake Michigan, for the purpose of destroying settlements of hostile Indians, and giving succor to Fort Wayne.

In this brief campaign fell another of Harrison's most devoted friends, Dr. John M. Scott, Colonel of the 1st Regiment of volunteers, from exposure and fatigue. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth, and had served as a surgeon under Harmar and Wayne, and, after the peace of Greenville, settled in the practice of medicine at Frankfort. He was a man of more than ordinary ability in his profession. Dr. Scott was decidedly military in his inclinations, and in time became Colonel of a militia regiment at Frankfort. It was well known, when his regiment was called to march into the Indian country in the fall of 1812, that he was physically unable to withstand the hardships of the campaign; but the prospects of hardship did not cool his ardor, and Governor Scott placed him in command of the regiment. He only reached old Fort Defiance on the Maumee. From this he was carried to his home at Frankfort, where he died in a few days. This was a personal

loss to Harrison. Dr. Scott had actually been his family physician, and had made a number of trips on horseback from Frankfort to Vincennes to attend in case of illness in the General's family.

General Winchester now reached Fort Wayne, and took charge of that part of the army which had been designed to march to the succor of Hull. On the 19th of September, 1812, Harrison issued his order to the forces, apprising them of the change in the command, assuring them of the pleasure he took in the attachment they displayed for him, and his own admiration for their patriotism and soldier-like deportment. He also stated that, "As Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Indiana Territory, the General assumes the command of all the troops in that Territory, by virtue of an authority received from the honorable, the Secretary of War; and, as a Major-General of the Kentucky quota, he takes the command of all the troops of that State north of the Ohio, excepting the army of General Winchester."

The matter of command was a very serious and important one, although not enough so perhaps to materially affect the patriotism of such a man as General Harrison. He now received notice of his appointment as a brigadier-general in the army; but it did not suit him to accept that position at once, and the matter was held under consideration. In the meantime the troops manifested a great indisposition to serve under General Winchester, and it became his first duty to do what he could to

remove any feeling they entertained on that point. There was no personal question in the disposition against Winchester. It was just simply a matter of preference to serve under Harrison, to whom they were attached, and whose record among the Indians was fully up to the standard Western view on the subject. Winchester was a regular officer, who had served in the Revolution, and was somewhat advanced in years, and for these officers in the West there was no great degree of enthusiasm. Besides, the example of Hull was fresh in their minds; and Winchester had, for a number of years, been living in ease in Tennessee, a fact which it was supposed did not especially qualify him for the hardships of an active campaign against savages. Out of the change and fixing of the command of the Western army, and the relations of these two generals, if no direct disaster befell the army, a very disagreeable controversy annoyed the country some time subsequently, as will be shown hereafter.

The following letter will show very clearly that General Harrison had no disposition to serve under Winchester; and that at the same time he was inclined to divide the force as little as possible, and not allow his "rank" to stand in the way of the demands of patriotism:—

"ST. MARY'S, 21st September, 1812.

"SIR,—Colonel Jennings' regiment is now here. I shall immediately set it to open the road from hence to Fort Defiance, and will direct the contractor and commissary to push on their provisions. The Secretary of War,



in a letter received from him since I saw you, urges me to join you (supposing that I was then in Kentucky) with a re-enforcement of the troops subject to my orders. As I have declined the appointment tendered me of brigadier, I can not comply with his request, as the commission I have is of higher grade than yours. I must, therefore, carry the wishes of the President into effect, so far as to place at your disposal the regiments of Barbee and Jennings, and the quota of this State, which I have heretofore required of Governor Meigs. The officers commanding these corps will be directed to report to you, and receive your orders. I shall retain the separate command of the mounted men and Pogue's regiment, and will communicate to you by an express the particular object at which I shall aim. Be so obliging as to send orders to Colonels Barbee and Jennings. The former is at Piqua, and the latter I shall place on the road to Defiance, as I have above intimated.

"I am, very respectfully, your humble servant,

"WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMMANDER OF ALL THE WESTERN TROOPS—HIS  
MILITARY ARDOR CAN NOT REMOVE MOUNTAINS—  
THE PROPHET'S TOWN GOES DOWN FOR-  
EVER—HARRISON ON THE MARCH  
TO CANADA.

WITH the forces left to him Harrison contemplated making a strike against the Indians and British, on his own account. He had some scruples about serving under General Winchester, and declined the appointment of brigadier-general. Winchester was not, however, accused of undue ambition, and Harrison had little ground for fear in that direction. Western men, who were now going to retrieve Hull's losses, whip the British and Indians, and conquer Upper Canada in one short campaign, were, indeed, disposed to consider Winchester lacking in ambition and enterprise sufficient for the emergency. Changes occurred rapidly. The distrust on the Ohio soon reached Washington. After Hull's surrender, the case became materially different. General Winchester had been appointed to lead the force to the succor of Hull. There needed to be a general head over affairs in the West. Harrison had been given command of military matters in his own

and the Territory of Illinois, and Kentucky had thought so well of his qualities as to go greatly out of her way to make him commander of her troops out of the State; the fine old governor, Shelby, one of the daring leaders at King's Mountain, was almost as much devoted to the interests of Harrison as had been his predecessor. The Western people generally had unbounded confidence in Harrison. His administration of Indian affairs in Indiana Territory had been of the most energetic sort; the Administration had a complete record of his acts, and had every reason to know his ability; the first campaign from which so much was expected had failed; something must be done, and the young ambitious leader who knew the ground well and in whom the people trusted seemed to be the man. The result was the following letter from Dr. Eustis, Secretary of War:—

“WAR DEPARTMENT, September 17, 1812.

“SIR,—The President is pleased to assign to you the command of the North-western army, which, in addition to the regular troops and rangers in that quarter, will consist of the volunteers and militia of Kentucky, Ohio, and three thousand from Virginia and Pennsylvania, making your whole force ten thousand men.

“Having provided for the protection of the Western frontier, you will retake Detroit, and with a view to the conquest of Upper Canada, you will penetrate that country as far as the force under your command will in your judgment justify.

“Every exertion is making to give you a train of artillery from Pittsburgh; to effect which, you must be sensible, requires time. Major Stoddard, the senior officer

of artillery at that place, will advise you of his arrangements and progress, and receive your instructions. Captain Gratiot, of the engineers, will report himself to you, from Pittsburgh; he will receive your orders, and join you with the first piece of artillery which can be prepared, or receive such orders as you may direct. Major Ball, of the 2d Regiment of Dragoons, will also report himself, and join you immediately. Such staff officers as you may appoint conformably to law, will be approved by the President.

“Copies of all contracts for supplying provisions have been transmitted. Mr. Denny, the contractor at Pittsburgh, is instructed to furnish magazines of provisions at such places as you may direct.

“The deputy quartermaster at Pittsburgh will continue to forward stores and munitions of every kind, and will meet your requisitions.

“Colonel Buford, deputy commissary at Lexington, is furnished with funds, and is subject to your orders. Should an additional purchasing commissary become necessary, you will appoint one, and authorize him to draw and sell bills on this department. It seems advisable to keep the local contractors in requisition as far as they can supply. With these objects in view, you will command such means as may be practicable, exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment. Very respectfully, etc., W. EUSTIS.

“Brigadier-General WM. H. HARRISON.”

This letter was received at Piqua on the night of September 24th, where General Harrison was looking after matters connected with his proposed raid upon the British and their noble red allies. This letter from the Secretary of War opened up a grand and formidable scheme, and there was not the least

indication of Harrison shrinking from the task. It was exactly the thing for him to do, for somebody to do, in his way of thinking. It said, provide for the safety of the Western border, retake Detroit, and then immediately conquer Upper Canada. Besides these things, artillerists, commissaries, quartermasters, contractors, money, and ten thousand men were to be at his discretion. This was scope enough to test any man's ambition. Under this unlimited range of power, if failure should be the result it would certainly rest more with the people and the man of their choice than with the Administration, although Harrison was the choice of the President as well. To General Winchester Harrison wrote at once:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, PIQUA, September 25, 1812.

“DEAR SIR,—I arrived here yesterday for the purpose of making some arrangements in the commissary's department. After night, an express arrived, with a packet of letters from the office at Chillicothe, directed to me. Upon opening it, and breaking the seals, one after the other, I incautiously broke that of the inclosed letter, which I soon discovered was for you. The same express brought me a letter from the War Department, announcing my appointment to the command of the North-western army. Need I add, that it would give me the most heartfelt pleasure if you could determine to remain with us. The Secretary informs me that the army is to be ten thousand strong, artillery is provided at Pittsburgh, an engineer is coming on, a major's command of cavalry, and every necessary power given. I shall necessarily be detained here for some days, expecting to see Governor Meigs and General Tupper. I hope at least that you will continue in command until my arrival. I have written to



General Payne, but have said nothing about my resuming the command, choosing that you should announce it in the manner you thought best."

One thing stood in the way of the immediate and successful progress of the army now gathering under General Harrison. That was the difficulty in equipping, and keeping the commissary and quartermaster supplies ready for every demand. This was still the age of local and general contractors. The experiences of the Revolution had not taught the country much, and the same lessons were gone over again. It is a mistake that experience is a great teacher when all others fail. Governments as well as individuals often learn neither by reason, philosophy, nor misfortune. The great contest between Andrew Jackson, the contractors, and starvation during the Creek War was only a repetition of the same difficulties that at times threatened the entire dissolution of the Continentals under General Washington. And here, and at every step almost in the movements of the Western army and the forces on the Lakes and the St. Lawrence the ambition of the commanders went before the skill or inclinations of the contractors. Marches were suspended; troops were put on half rations; detachments were ever traveling after supplies; small forces were defeated, slaughtered, or captured on these missions; precious time was lost; great opportunities were lost; and plans and expeditions were abandoned simply for the want of supplies, simply because the contractors did not come to time, did not keep pace with the movements

of the army. There is no part of the history of the War of 1812 that is not spotted with evils of every grade from this source, sometimes, no doubt, beyond the control and remedy of the commanding general, yet often chargeable in any fair account against him. What wisdom or generalship could be discerned in the conduct of a commander who rushes forward with his army, snuffing glory in every thought, and finally discovering that it is necessary for him to sit down in absolute helplessness to see his army dispirited and mutinous, to wait for the contractor? The day after the battle of Tippecanoe, soldiers in the little army fed on the flesh of their horses killed in the engagement; and this after a march of only one hundred and seventy miles directly up the Wabash, where supplies had been carried half the distance in boats. Starvation from any cause, half rations and horse-flesh, may go to make up the story of hardship, and give what is called eloquence to the tongue of eulogy, but to find either wisdom in or an apology for it, may not always be an agreeable task.

The other great obstacle to the success of these grand campaigns, from which so much was hoped, in spite of the constant praise of the militia system as the great dependence of a free Government in every time of need, was the everlasting melting away and military intractability of the militia, of which they were mainly composed. A fair and just record of these things, from the battle of Bunker Hill till the 8th of January, 1815, would make a vast volume of national blunders. To

many of them the Nation is wedded, and there is now, perhaps, no escape.

To General Samuel Hopkins, of Kentucky, the expedition to the Wabash was intrusted; and before leaving Piqua, Harrison wrote to him to extend his attentions to the Indians as far as the Illinois River. Harrison now went forward to join his forces collecting on the Maumee, and after spending a day or two at St. Mary's, on the 2d of October overtook Winchester at Defiance; and here already he found the army suffering in the cold and rain for want of tents and provisions; and was forced to make them an address, appealing to their pride and patriotism, and assure them that supplies would be plentiful so soon as the road could be opened from St. Mary's. On the 3d of October, General Winchester issued this brief order, the first notice he had given the soldiers of the change of commanders:—

“I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harrison, who is duly authorized by the Executive of the Federal Government to take command of the North-western army. This officer, enjoying the implicit confidence of the States from whose citizens this army is and will be collected, and possessing himself great military skill and reputation, the General is confident in the belief that his presence in this army, in the character of its chief, will be hailed with universal approbation.

J. WINCHESTER.”

General Winchester had been given his choice by the Secretary of War between going to northern

New York and remaining in the western army; and in Harrison's letter to him from Piqua, he had invited him to remain. This latter he chose to do, and was given the command of the left wing of the army by an order of Harrison on the 4th of October. Harrison himself proceeded to Franklinton, where he was apprised of the appearance of the enemy again at Fort Wayne, and sent two detachments of the troops, immediately at his command, to re-enforce the garrison at that place. General Harrison now occupied all his efforts, night and day, to thoroughly organize, equip, and clothe his army for the campaign and for the winter season. He still believed it possible to carry out the main purposes of the expedition before the cold weather set in, and, if not, expected to be able to move forward when the rivers were frozen over. But the month of October was unfavorable; and as it passed away the difficulties of the situation became less a subject of enthusiasm, even to Harrison. On the 23d he wrote to the Secretary of War that he could not say anything definitely about the time of moving with his force towards Detroit; intimated that he might have to wait for transportation on the ice; stated that the wilderness was then nothing but an impassable swamp; said they found themselves really unable to get food and clothing for the army even so far as Defiance; held that if they could get through to Michigan and Canada they could not hope to find supplies there; but that amidst these almost insurmountable difficulties

he was gathering supplies from every direction, and contemplated occupying Sandusky, from which place he hoped to take his forage and provisions by sleds to the River Raisin.

Soon after General Harrison took command of the army at Defiance, notwithstanding the enthusiasm created by his presence, he had to make a speech setting forth the virtues of patriotism under disagreeable circumstances. The General was himself so struck with the dignity and grandeur of these things, that he could not see why others would not be similarly impressed, and left it wholly to their own lofty convictions of right and dignity as to whether they would stay with him or go home. The following extract from one of these speeches, strangely mixed with ridicule and reason, will be sufficient at this point:—

“Now, so far as the Government is interested, the discontented troops, who have come to the woods with the expectation of finding all the luxuries of home and peace, have full liberty to return. I will order facilities for their immediate accommodation; but I can not refrain from expressing the mortification I anticipate from the reception they will meet from the old and the young, who greeted them on their march to the scene of war as their gallant neighbors. What will be their feelings when they see those whom they hailed as their generous defenders now returning without striking a blow, and before their term of plighted service has expired? If their fathers do not drive back their degenerate sons to the field of battle to recover their wounded honor, their mothers and sisters will hiss them from their presence. If, however, the discontented men are disposed to put up with all the taunts



and disdain which await them wherever they may go, they are at liberty to go back."

Still when Allen Trimble got over to Fort Wayne, late in October, on his way against the White Pigeon's Town, his brave militia began to disappear. They had only been waiting an opportunity out of Harrison's presence to execute this worthy militia-man's privilege. At this time General E. W. Tupper and General Winchester fell into a serious misunderstanding, which resulted in the troops under Tupper refusing to march with Winchester to the Rapids of the Maumee, and in their being sent home and disbanded at Urbana.

This inglorious state of affairs might well have induced Harrison, with all his enthusiasm and contempt of such "old woman's" work as had marked the track of William Hull, to say to the Secretary of War that he could not now for the life of him tell when he would be ready to move up to Detroit. Three routes had been selected by which Harrison was attempting to gather his army and all its supplies and equipments at the great rendezvous fixed upon, the Rapids of the Maumee, opposite the old British Fort Miami.

In one of General Harrison's numerous letters to the Secretary of War there is this statement:—

"You can have no idea, sir, of the difficulty with which land transportation is effected north of the fortieth degree of latitude in this region. The country beyond that is almost a continued swamp to the Lakes. Where the streams run favorably to your course, a small strip of

better ground is found; but in crossing from one river to another, the greater part of the way at this season is covered with water. Such is actually the situation of that space between the Sandusky and the Maumee Rivers; and from the best information I could acquire whilst I was at Huron the road over it must be causewayed at least half the way. . . .

"I fear that the expense of this expedition will greatly exceed the calculations which have been made the grounds for the appropriations of funds for the quartermaster's use. A single fact will at once show the difficulty of the undertaking, and the expense which will attend it.

"We are now purchasing corn here, to be transported to Upper Sandusky (where he had determined to fix a depot of supplies). Colonel Morrison (quartermaster) believes that it will require two wagons with corn to supply their own teams, and one other with flour, to that place and back again. And yet there must be a deposit there of grain for the support of all the horses and oxen of the ordnance, quartermaster's, and commissary's departments, in the advance of the army thence, and which must amount to at least two thousand. The object to be accomplished is, however, considered of great national importance, and expense must not be regarded. The Government may, however, be perfectly satisfied that every dollar that is appropriated will be faithfully and as economically applied as possible."

After Tupper's difficulty with General Winchester, he was placed on the central line of march at Fort McArthur. The troops were kept employed to the best possible advantage. As a part of this work, Fort Winchester was built near the site of old Fort Defiance, and others were erected at St. Mary's, on the Auglaize, and at other points. Some attention

was also paid to the British and Indians who still held the Maumee at Fort Miami. General Tupper with six hundred men was sent in November to attack and disperse the enemy at this point. He failed to be able to cross the Maumee to attack the British as he had designed, but his presence dispersed the force gathered at the Rapids.

The attack made on Fort Harrison in September, the massacre of the whites on Pigeon Roost Fork of White River, and other Indian outrages in Indiana and Illinois induced General Harrison to provide for energetic measures in that quarter. Colonel William Russell, a regular officer, was in charge at Vincennes, but the force at his command was insufficient; and to carry out his views more fully on the Western border, Harrison set about organizing an expedition for that purpose. Kentucky was again called upon, and under the exertions of old Governor Shelby two thousand mounted men were soon assembled on the Ohio. The command was given to Samuel Hopkins, a general of Kentucky militia. In October this force reached Vincennes, but it soon fell into a bad way, and utterly failed of its object before reaching the Kickapoo country. Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell did, however, succeed in destroying some Indian towns; and Hopkins, unwilling to give up without showing something for all that was expected of his chivalrous army, went up the Wabash as far as the Tippecanoe, where he found the Prophet's Town in a flourishing condition. This he burned with some others on his route; and thus passed

away for the last time this rendezvous of the red scamp whose witchcraft, with his brother's soldierly eloquence, had fomented the Indians for a number of years on all the Western border.

Harrison also sent an expedition of six hundred men about this time against the Indian towns on the Mississinewa River under Colonel John B. Campbell, and this was more successful, as may be seen from the following report:—

“CAMP ON MISSISSINEWA, TWO MILES ABOVE SILVER HEELS, }  
“December 12, 1812. . }

“DEAR GENERAL,—After a fatiguing march of three days and one night from Greenville, I arrived with the detachment under my command at a town on the Mississinewa, thought by the spies to be Silver Heels Town; but proved to be a town settled by a mixture of Delaware and Miami Indians.

“About eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th, undiscovered, a charge was made upon the town, when many fled over the river, others surrendered; those who fled made resistance after crossing, by firing across the river. Thirty-seven prisoners are taken, whom I shall bring in with me, including men, women and children; seven warriors were killed. After disposing of the prisoners, I marched a part of the detachment down the river and burned three villages without resistance; I then returned and encamped on the ground where stood the first village attacked.

“This morning about daylight, or a little before, my camp was attacked by a party of Indians (the number unknown, but supposed to be between two and three hundred) on my right line occupied by Major Ball's squadron, who gallantly resisted them for about three-quarters of an hour, when the Indians retreated, after





## CHAPTER XIV.

TROUBLES OF THE CAMPAIGN—END OF HARRISON'S EXTRAORDINARY POWERS IN INDIANA—THE RIVER RAISIN.

ON the 12th of December, in a letter to the Secretary of War, General Harrison wrote:—

“If there were not some important political reason urging the recovery of the Michigan Territory and the capture of Malden as soon as these objects can possibly be effected, and that to accomplish them a few weeks sooner expense was to be disregarded, I should not hesitate to say that if a small proportion of the sums which will be expended in the quartermaster's department in the active prosecution of the campaign during the winter was devoted to obtaining the command of Lake Erie the wishes of the Government in their utmost extent could be accomplished without difficulty in the months of April and May. Malden, Detroit, and Mackinaw would fall in rapid succession.”

He now began to see the almost hopeless prospects of the land operations, and urged the Administration to build vessels for transport and war purposes on Lake Erie. And, although he had no notion of going into winter quarters, yet he feared that all progress would be stopped by the severity of the winter, and the difficulties in the way of clothing and supplying the army. Early in January

he wrote to the War Department that it was his opinion that the cheapest and best way to Upper Canada was by the Lake; that in the spring an army of four thousand men could cross the Lake, take Malden, retake Detroit, and then be carried in the fleet, which should be built to operate with the army on the Niagara. The capture of Malden and Detroit he yet hoped to do by means of the frozen rivers in midwinter. Considering the condition of this force, mainly of volunteers, scattered from Sandusky to Fort Wayne, it was a stony kind of heroism which could contemplate a winter campaign in Upper Canada. The left wing, as it was termed, of the army, under Winchester, was especially in a wretched condition. As the cold weather came on, the men were found to be without clothes for the season. General Harrison had appealed to the Secretary of War, and to the people of Kentucky, for clothing, and had even appropriated blankets and some other goods designed for the Indians, and apparently left nothing undone to furnish the clothes required. Much of the supplies from the women and homes of Kentucky, for their suffering soldiers in the field, never reached its destination, but was lost in the intricacies of transportation. From one wet camp Winchester shifted to another with the hope of bettering his condition, until several hundred of his men were daily attacked by fevers and other complaints. And to add to all this, they were for days at a time without flour, without anything to eat but meat. The road on the route

to Winchester's camp at Fort Defiance was much of the time absolutely impassable for wagons. Even horses were scarcely able to drag through the mud, knee-deep, many places to their bellies, without loads on their backs. Attempts were made to take flour and some other supplies by the St. Mary's and Maumee Rivers to Fort Winchester in canoes and other little boats, and the men were given extra inducements to make desperate efforts in that direction; but after the hopes of the little army had been raised by the prospect of this source of supply, it had to be abandoned as impracticable. The other divisions of the army were better provided for; but affairs were generally in a bad condition, and the worst was that there was no help for it. Mud, rain, cold, disease, extortion of special contractors, the difficulties and impossibilities in the way of the War Department in furnishing supplies, and the difficulties of transportation, were powerful forces, which even the Commander-in-chief began to doubt his ability to overcome. Yet confidence in him was unshaken, and especially by those who knew the conditions surrounding the undertaking. Some wordy writer had even called him the Washington of the West; and Mr. Monroe, acting as Secretary of War, had said in a letter to him:—

“At this distance, and with an imperfect knowledge of the actual state of things, it is impossible for the President to decide, satisfactorily to himself, or with advantage to the public, whether it is practicable for you to accomplish the objects of the expedition in their full extent

during the present winter. No person can be so competent to that decision as yourself; and the President has great confidence in the solidity of the opinion which you may form. He wishes you to weigh maturely this important subject, and take that part which your judgment may dictate."

There is nothing so ridiculous that it may not have supporters and perpetuators. Henry Clay was the "Great Commoner," and no other man in America was able or worthy to bear that distinction. Mr. Clay wore it, and in him it came to mean something—certain traits and characteristics which did not belong to any other man, and which have not been found or repeated in American history. Still partisan friends in Tennessee were in the habit of calling Andrew Johnson the "Great Commoner." Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, did acquire the title of "Cato" in the Congress of the United States, the only place it could be acquired; and nobody deserved it more, if it was at all deserving to be named after a simple, stubborn old heathen Senator. The term was, at any rate, not transferable; yet some of the personal friends of Thomas Hart Benton, in exaggerated moods, were guilty of calling him "Cato." The calling of General Harrison the "Washington of the West" never had the least foundation in fitness, and never could have found a thinking and discriminative repeater. Few men resembled Washington less than General Harrison, and in fact there has been no American who resembled him at all.

In Harrison's letter of the 12th of December to the Secretary of War, after speaking of the difficulties of his undertaking, and recommending the building of vessels for lake transportation, he wrote:—

“I have conceived it proper, sir, to lay these statements before you. If it should be asked why they were not made sooner, I answer, that although I was always sensible that there were great difficulties to be encountered in the accomplishment of the wishes of the President in relation to the recovery of Detroit, and the conquest of the adjacent part of Upper Canada in the manner proposed, I did not make sufficient allowance for the imbecility and inexperience of the public agents, and the villainy of the contractors. I am still, however, very far from believing that the original plan is impracticable. I believe, on the contrary, that it can be effected. And as I know that my personal fame is materially interested in its success in the manner first proposed, my feelings are all engaged in opposition to any delay. But I should illy deserve the confidence of the people or the President if I were capable of being influenced by a private consideration to withhold from the Government any statement which might throw light upon the operations of an army, the success of which is so important to the character, as well as to the interests, of the country. If it should be the determination to disregard expense, and push on the operations of the army in the manner that they have been commenced, the President may rely on the exertions of the troops which I shall employ in the final effort. I shall be much disappointed if I can not select three or four thousand men from the army who will do as much as the same number of men, in a similar state of discipline, ever did. If the plan of acquiring naval superiority upon the Lakes, before the attempt is made on Malden or Detroit, should be adopted, I would place fifteen hundred men in can-



tonments at the Miami Rapids (Defiance would be better, if the troops had not advanced from thence); retain about one thousand more, to be distributed in different garrisons; accumulate provisions at St. Mary's, Tawa Town, Upper Sandusky, Cleveland, and Presque Isle, and employ the dragoons and mounted infantry in desultory expeditions against the Indians. The villages south of Lake Michigan might be struck with effect by making a deposit of corn and provisions at Fort Wayne. I am much disappointed in the artillery which has been sent me. There are in all twenty-eight pieces, of which ten are sixes, and ten twelve pounders; the former are nearly useless. I had five before; and, if I had a hundred, I should only take three or four with me. You will perceive by the return of Captain Gratiot, which is inclosed, that all the carriages for the howitzers, and eight out of ten for the twelve pounders, are unfit for use.

During all this time the commander of the Northwestern army and Governor of Indiana Territory had little opportunity to look after the civil affairs of his Territory. John Gibson, the secretary, was now acting Governor of Indiana, and an excellent governor he made. He had been appointed secretary with General Harrison on the organization of the Territory. He was well acquainted with the people with whom he had to deal, and was a thorough-going, honorable, and able man. The Legislature held a session every two years, and in the winter of 1811 Harrison met that body for the last time; although his successor, Thomas Posey, was not appointed until February, 1813. Harrison's actual and discretionary powers as Governor of Indiana had been so extraordinary as to startle his own sense of the ridiculous,

and drew from him this remarkable language in dissolving the Council and House of Representatives in the fall of 1809 :—

“I have considered your request for a dissolution of the present Legislature, with all the attention the importance of the subject demands, and the shortness of the time allowed to form an opinion would permit. It has ever been my wish to assimilate, as far as possible, the government of the Territory to those which prevail in the States, to conceal those rougher features of our constitution which are so justly offensive to republican delicacy, and which nothing but the infancy of our political state renders tolerable. Of this description is the power given to the governor to prorogue and dissolve the Legislature at pleasure. An application of the people themselves, or their Representatives, forms one of the few occasions on which I would consent to use this power, and, although the propriety of the measure at this time is not altogether apparent to my mind, yet in compliance with your wishes, I have thought proper to determine, and do now declare, that this present Legislature is from this moment dissolved, and the powers delegated to it by the people again revert to them.”

Governor Posey, his successor, had been a soldier in the Revolution, and was at the time of his appointment to this position a Senator in Congress from Louisiana. He entered upon the discharge of his duties at Vincennes in May, 1813. And thus ended General Harrison's connection with the civil affairs of Indiana.

But to return to the regular course of this story. About the 20th of December Harrison removed his head-quarters temporarily to Upper Sandusky. In

the meantime he had ordered General Winchester to move down to the Rapids as soon as the condition of his supplies would admit. On the 30th, Winchester set out, and on the 10th of January took a position on the north bank of the river at the Rapids, which he fortified to some extent. He had previously sent Leslie Combs, of Lexington, Kentucky, on foot on the long and tedious task of notifying Harrison of his advance. He now sent another messenger in a slow and roundabout way to apprise the Commander-in-chief of his arrival at the Rapids.

Harrison hearing of the advance of a considerable Indian and British force in that direction, soon after his arrival at Sandusky, had sent word to Winchester not to proceed to the Rapids, but to fall back to Fort Jennings. When this order reached Winchester, he was then on his way to the Rapids, and did not consider it necessary to obey the order. On the 13th and for several days afterwards Frenchmen arrived at Winchester's camp from Frenchtown on the River Raisin, urging him to send forward a force to protect them. The British at Malden, only eighteen miles distant, were seizing all persons friendly to the American cause, and they expected the savages soon to be let loose upon them with the scalping-knife and tomahawk. The troops under Winchester were eager to march to the rescue of Frenchtown; and on the evening of the 16th, he held a council of war in which the majority of his officers favored sending a detachment for that purpose. Winchester took this view of the case himself, and on the 17th Colonel

William Lewis and Colonel John Allen with six hundred and sixty men were sent forward to the River Raisin. That night they encamped at Presque Isle (a French settlement at the mouth of the Maumee), and returned message to Winchester that the Indians were then at the Raisin, four hundred strong, and it was believed that the British were projecting an expedition against the Rapids. Winchester sent a messenger to General Harrison by way of Lower Sandusky informing him of his movements.

Frenchtown was eighteen miles from Presque Isle, and about the same distance from Malden, the British head-quarters. Early in the morning of the 18th Lewis and Allen pressed forward on the border of the Lake, partly on the ice of Maumee Bay, hoping to reach Frenchtown, before the British should move from Malden. When they arrived near Frenchtown, it was discovered that the Indians with a hundred British regulars were ready to receive them, and a spirited action ensued in which the Americans engaged in an almost continuous charge for two miles, driving the enemy before them, and completely routing them, with a loss of twelve men killed and fifty-five wounded. The British loss must have been much greater, as fifteen of their dead were left behind them.

Lewis determined to hold the position he had gained by a hard contest, and immediately sent a messenger to General Winchester to that effect. Winchester approved of the plan, and on the evening of the 19th set out from the Rapids himself with

two hundred and fifty men, all the effective force he had except about three hundred left to hold the supplies at the Rapids. Another messenger was sent to notify General Harrison of his intentions. In the following night he reached Frenchtown, and on the 21st located his camp with the design of fortifying it on the next day. Strangely enough Winchester selected for his own quarters a house on the opposite side of the river, about three hundred yards from the main body of his troops, now nearly one thousand strong. Early in the night of the 21st a Frenchman arrived in the camp who informed Winchester that about three thousand British and Indians were preparing to march against him. But for some cause the General gave little attention to this, and that night less than ordinary care was taken to guard against a surprise. At daylight on the morning of January 22d it was discovered that the British had quietly taken their positions within a few hundred yards of the town ready for an attack upon the Americans.

I do not propose to recite the horrors of this day at the River Raisin. These are sufficiently shown in the regular reports, and a few other accounts attached hereto. The Americans were overpowered, defeated, slaughtered, and captured, but few of all of them escaping to tell the story of the terrible disaster.

About three hundred of the Americans were killed in the battle, or massacred by the Indians after they had surrendered, on that and the following



day, without an effort on the part of the British officers to save them; and about six hundred were taken prisoners, including General Winchester. The British, about two thousand strong, commanded by Proctor, suffered a very light loss comparatively. The Indian leaders present here, and at the former engagement, were Round Head and Walk-in-the-Water.

The British officers in this affair generally exhibited a greater degree of cruelty and barbarity, or indifference to their exercise by their allies, as it was well known they were massacring the helpless Americans, than has, perhaps, ever been shown by civilized white men on this continent. Yet Proctor was advanced to the rank of brigadier for his services in this battle. It was for some time believed, and quite extensively circulated throughout the country, that Winchester was killed in this battle; and a contemporary writer, in lamenting the event, said :—

“The brave Winchester, too confident in the fears of the enemy, a hero of the Revolution, a soldier and a gentleman, is numbered with the dead, mangled by the ‘dear allies’ of the British crown; and with him have fallen many of the best spirits of generous Kentucky, whose volunteers formed the greater part of the detachment.”

Winchester showed no lack of bravery, but he was not even wounded. The great weight of the calamity did indeed fall upon Kentucky. Colonel John Allen, Captain Nathaniel G. T. Hart, and

Captain Paschal Hickman were among the brave Kentuckians who fell at the River Raisin.

Allen was a Virginian by birth, and a lawyer by profession. He was born in 1772, and eight years afterwards was settled near Danville, Kentucky, with his father. He was educated at Bardstown; studied law at Staunton, Virginia, and practiced his profession with success at Shelbyville, until the War of 1812. He raised a regiment of riflemen for service under Harrison, and fought with great gallantry until his death.

Captain Hart was a native of Hagerstown, Maryland, and while a boy was brought by his father, Thomas Hart, to Lexington, Kentucky. He practiced law for a time in Lexington. He commanded a company of militia, and when the war broke out he was one of the first to enter the army. He served for a time on the General's staff, but commanded his company at Frenchtown. He was wounded and taken prisoner. He was left, at the mercy of the savages, among most of the prisoners in the town; and after hiring an Indian for a hundred dollars to take him to Malden, another Indian claimed him as his prisoner, and they killed him and divided his property between them.

Hickman was a Virginian by birth, and was the son of the Rev. William Hickman. He raised and commanded one of the companies in Colonel Allen's regiment. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and was afterwards tomahawked and burned by the Indians.

General Harrison now wrote to Governor Meigs, of Ohio :—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, CARRYING RIVER, 24th January, 1813.

“DEAR SIR,—The event of which I expressed so much apprehension in my letter to you from Lower Sandusky has happened. The detachment under Colonel Lewis was re-enforced by General Winchester with two hundred and fifty men. He attended it and took the command at the River Raisin on the 20th, and on the 22d he was attacked at reveille by a considerable British and Indian force with six pieces of artillery; the troops being surprised, and the ground unfavorable, had but little opportunity of forming to advantage. They were surrounded and broke in twenty or twenty-five minutes. A major and captain and about twenty-five privates were all that effected their escape.

“I had but three hundred and sixty men with me, about three miles above the Rapids, where the news first reached me. I immediately ordered them to prepare to march; and set out with my staff to overtake a detachment of three hundred men that had set out that morning for the River Raisin. I overtook them at the distance of six miles; but before the other troops (Colonel Andrews’ Ohio regiment) came up, it was ascertained that the defeat was complete, and it was the unanimous opinion of Generals Payne, Perkins, and the field officers that we should return. A detachment to the amount of one hundred and seventy of the most active men was sent forward with directions to proceed as far as possible, to assist those who were fortunate enough to escape. There were, however, but few. The snow was so deep that the fugitives were entirely exhausted in running a few miles. Those that did get off effected it by turning down to the lake and secreting themselves. I believe there were not more than forty or fifty that got a mile from the scene of action, and the greater part of them were overtaken.

“Never were the affairs of any army in a more prosperous situation than ours before the unfortunate step of marching the detachment to the River Raisin. It was made not only without any authority from me, but in opposition to my views. Everything in my power was, however, done to prevent any disaster, and re-enforcements were pushed on with as much rapidity as possible. Major Cotgrove’s battalion, the first in the army, was within fourteen miles of the scene of action when he heard of the defeat; and three hundred regular troops were also on their way. I remained at the Rapids with one regiment only. In justice to General Winchester, I must observe that I have understood that the measure (marching the detachment to the River Raisin) was forced upon him by his officers; but, whatever may have been the cause, and however great the calamity, both as it regards the Nation and individuals, it is certainly not irreparable.”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WINCHESTER,  
NOW A PRISONER OF WAR, TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

“MALDEN, January 23, 1813.

“SIR,—A detachment from the left wing of the north-western army, under my command, at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, was attacked on the 22d instant by a force greatly superior in number, aided by several pieces of artillery. The action commenced at the dawn of day; the picket guards were driven in; and a heavy fire opened on the whole line, by which a part thereof was thrown into disorder; and being ordered to retire a small distance, in order to form on more advantageous ground, I found the enemy doubling our left flank with force and rapidity.

“A destructive fire was sustained for some time; at length borne down by numbers, the few of us that remained with the party that retired from the lines submitted. The remainder of our force, in number about four hundred, continued to defend themselves with great gallantry, in an unequal contest against small arms and artillery, until I

was brought in as a prisoner to that part of the field occupied by the enemy.

“At this latter place, I understood that our troops were defending themselves in a state of desperation, and was informed by the commanding officer of the enemy that he would afford them an opportunity of surrendering themselves prisoners of war, to which I acceded. I was the more ready to make the surrender from being assured that unless done quickly the buildings adjacent would be immediately set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who were then assembled in great numbers.

“In this critical situation, being desirous to preserve the lives of a number of our brave fellows who still held out, I sent a flag to them and agreed with the commanding officer of the enemy, that they should be surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of being protected from the savages, allowed to retain their private property, and having their side-arms returned to them. It is impossible for me to ascertain with certainty the loss we have sustained in this action from the impracticability of knowing the number who have made their escape.

“Thirty-five officers and about four hundred and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates are prisoners of war. A list of the names of the officers is herewith inclosed to you. Our loss in killed is considerable.

“However unfortunate may seem the affair of yesterday, I am flattered by a belief that no material error is chargeable upon myself, and that still less censure is deserved by the troops I had the honor of commanding.

“With the exception of that portion of our force which was thrown into disorder, no troops have ever behaved with more determined intrepidity.

“I have the honor to be, with high respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES WINCHESTER,

“Brigadier-General United States Army.

“HONORABLE SECRETARY OF WAR.”



COPY OF A LETTER FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES WINCHES-  
TER TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

“FORT GEORGE, UPPER CANADA, February 11, 1813.

“SIR,—On the 23d ultimo I had the honor of communicating to your excellency the result of the action at Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, of the preceding day. I have it now in my power to transmit to you a more detailed account of that transaction, together with a more minute statement of our loss. A list of the killed, wounded, and missing, is herewith inclosed. The attack upon our camp was commenced about six o'clock in the morning, by a heavy fire of small arms, together with the discharge of six pieces of artillery, directed immediately at our lines, and the houses and temporary breastwork, from behind which a portion of our troops were engaged with the enemy. Early in the action a charge was made by the assailants; but the fire from our lines was so intense that they were quickly compelled to retire.

“In the charge the 41st Regiment of British Regulars principally suffered, their loss, during the charge and in the subsequent engagement, being very considerable. Out of three hundred of these troops about thirty fell dead upon the field, and ninety or one hundred wounded were removed from the ground.

“It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the number of Canadian militia and Indians which were killed or wounded during the engagement; it could, however, not have been small, having received for three or four hours the constant fire of the musketry and riflemen, from the breastwork under which they were formed. The action had endured about a quarter of an hour, when the right division of our troops, who were less secured by a breastwork, and exposed to a heavy fire from a body of Indians and militia, who had possessed themselves of some out-houses within their reach, were obliged to retreat from their lines in the encampment, for the purpose of occupying

ground less exposed. This retreat being discovered by the enemy, the whole Indian force, together with a portion of the militia, bore down upon them with redoubled violence, and prevented, by their superiority of numbers and the severity of their fire, the practicability of ever again forming this portion of our troops in order of battle. It was from this division that our principal loss was sustained, few indeed having escaped. Every effort in vain was employed to form them in some order of action, as affording the only means of either repelling the pursuers, or regaining the temporary breastwork from behind which the remaining part of our troops still gallantly defended themselves; but every exertion was in vain employed, and the very few who survived of the party surrendered as prisoners to the enemy.

“Our loss in this action will be ascertained by the list herewith inclosed. Among the killed, I have to lament several brave and valuable officers, some of whom had distinguished themselves in the action of the evening of the 18th, and fell on the 22d while unavailingly engaged in rallying the troops who retreated in disorder from the lines. Among those, the loss of Colonel John Allen and Major Elijah McClannahan, is to be particularly regretted, as also Captain John H. Woolfolk, one of my aids-de-camp; their exertions were unsuccessful, notwithstanding every possible exertion was employed; they bravely fell in discharge of their respective duties. While I regret the fate of those who bravely fell upon this occasion, I should do injustice to pass over, without notice, the few partakers in their danger, who were fortunate to survive them. To Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis, who commanded on the 18th, and to Captain John Overton, my aid-de-camp, who attended my person on the field, my thanks are particularly due for their prompt and willing exertion, during every period of the conflict. To the officers and soldiers who bravely maintained their ground in the temporary

fortifications, too much praise can not be bestowed. Assailed by numbers greatly superior, supported by six pieces of artillery constantly employed, they gallantly defended with small arms alone, for near four hours of constant battle. No troops ever behaved with more cool and determined bravery. From the commanding officer down to the private soldier, there was scarce a single abandonment of duty; and at the last when their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and surrounded by the enemy, greatly superior in number and the means of war, they surrendered with a reluctance rarely to be found upon similar occasions. The officers commanding in the breastwork, and who deserve particular notice, if distinction could easily be drawn, were Majors Benjamin Graves and George Madison; Captains Hightower, Hart, Williams, Cholier, Sebree, Hamilton, Keleby, Bledsoe, Ballard, and James; Brigade-Major James Garrard, Adjutant John McCalla, and Quartermaster Pollard Keen. They defended themselves to the last with great gallantry, and merit my warmest gratitude, as well as the highest praise of their country.

“With sentiments of the highest respect, I am, sir,  
your obedient servant,

J. WINCHESTER,

“Brigadier-General United States Army.

“THE HON. THE SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington City, U. S.”

General Winchester's messenger notifying Harrison of his advance towards the Rapids did not reach him until the 11th of January, and not until the 16th did he hear of the object Winchester had in view against the enemy; and not for two days afterwards, when he was actually on his way to the Rapids, with a view of finding out what Winchester was about, did he learn what was happening. Then he did all he could, it is quite clear, to render the expedition successful, and to succor the ill-advised

adventure. But the mischief was done before he was apprised of anything which could lead to it, and certainly without blame on his part. He was, perhaps, blamable for not assuming more directly the responsibility of movements in the "left wing" of his army. General Winchester was an old soldier, and Harrison's deference for him put all of his orders in the shape of recommendations. So Winchester was left to take his own course, to a great extent, and of this generosity of the Commander-in-chief he took advantage, while Harrison did not always approve his actions.

General Harrison now found himself at the Rapids, with less than a thousand effective men, and a great part of these were the Ohio militia, which he had ordered from Sandusky to the aid of Winchester. Strangely enough, Winchester had chosen his position on the north side of the Maumee. This made it necessary to transport supplies across the river, when his experience had been such as to show him that even the Maumee was at times a serious obstacle to the progress of the carrying system of that day. After consulting with his officers, Harrison concluded to fall back eighteen miles to Portage, or Carrying River, to await the arrival of his forces. This movement was not wise, as it was wholly unnecessary. Yet he was not certain of the intentions of Proctor and his Indians. This he knew, that it would have been an easy thing for him to march to the Rapids at that time; and besides the inadequacy of his own force, the

position of the army, as selected by Winchester, was wholly unsatisfactory.

On the 24th it set in to raining; the snow disappeared, and the roads were again impassable. It had been attempted to bring forward the artillery on sleds, but this mode of conveyance was now impracticable. The low country about Portage River was covered with water; the camp was inundated, and yet for miles around there was not a higher spot than the one occupied by the army. Sickness prevailed to an alarming extent, and many a poor soldier who got through the winter of 1812 in the North-western army never lived to see the day when he was free from the seeds of rheumatism and consumption, or other evils, planted by the hardships of this campaign. The army, having increased to about seventeen hundred men, on the 1st of February, 1813, again returned to the Rapids, where General Harrison selected a favorable site for his camp, on the south or supplies side of the river, and there he built Fort Meigs, calling the fort after the brave, patriotic, Return Jonathan Meigs, the war Governor of Ohio. The time of service of the Ohio and Kentucky militia was now expiring; and in a month or two the Pennsylvania and Virginia troops would end the time for which they had been called into the service. The condition of the winter made the original intention of continuing the campaign, and of marching into Canada, impracticable; and finally, after the wonderful efforts that had been put forth by the Commander-in-chief, and the sufferings and



hardships of the soldiers, it was at last concluded that nothing more could be done in carrying forward the general plan until spring. Harrison, having arrived at this necessary conclusion, dismissed the Ohio and Kentucky troops; arranged the plans of his fortification; left the command under General Leftwich, of Virginia, and proceeded himself to Chillicothe and Cincinnati. He had already called upon Kentucky and Ohio for another force, to supply the place of the men now going out of the service from those States.

## CHAPTER XV.

HARRISON AND GREEN CLAY—FORT MEIGS—DEFEAT OF  
COLONEL DUDLEY—TECUMSEH AND PROCTOR.

GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG had now become Secretary of War. He had served honorably in the War of the Revolution, although his connection with the unpatriotic Newburg movement at its close exhibited the peculiar and extreme tendencies of his character. General Armstrong approved Harrison's views as to the necessity of suspending forward movements until an improvement in the weather, but one of his first acts with reference to Western affairs was to notify Governor Meigs that the idea of calling out another militia force in Ohio was not agreeable to the War Department, while he did not order the work of recruiting to be stopped.

From Cincinnati Harrison wrote to the new Secretary remonstrating against such a course. Without the militia within three months there would not be force enough at his command to protect the frontier, which would again be open to Indian depredations. The army of eight thousand men which had begun to march under General Harrison towards Detroit in the fall of 1812, had melted away. Before the

declaration of war the Administration had prepared for the conquest of Canada, and no wisdom then in existence could have foreseen that the selection of William Hull to carry out the plan would have made it a failure merely from his appointment. And as late as it was in the season, it was hoped and believed that General Harrison would be able yet to make good the original plans. Still the campaign ended, and 1812 passed away, and the result, as a whole, had little in it that was not deplorable. Indeed prospects on the Western and North-western border of the United States were really alarming and gloomy at the time General Harrison left the little army at the forts of Northern Ohio. The disasters which had befallen it under him were clearly not chargeable to him, nor was the little that was accomplished chargeable against him; and it would be difficult, in looking over the ground from the present period, to suppose that in any other hands the outcome would have been better.

At Cincinnati Harrison wrote to Governor Shelby to push forward the new recruits from that State, as he also made every exertion possible in Ohio, and used every available means of raising general enthusiasm among the people. It now became evident that the greater part of the militia at Fort Meigs would leave for home when their time was up, and hearing rumors of the designs of the British upon that place, Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War that he was about to return to Fort Meigs and would take with him all the militia he could gather. He

had already sent on the Kentuckians as they arrived at Newport. On the 12th of April he reached the fort without hindrance. The British had very fortunately not arrived, but General Leftwich and his Virginians had unceremoniously left for home. And that was not all, Leftwich had suspended all work on the fortifications, and gone off leaving the fort in a very unsatisfactory condition. In a few days after General Harrison reached Fort Meigs he dismissed the Pennsylvania volunteers who had generously remained after the expiration of their term of service; and every effort was now put forth to complete the fortifications and drill the new recruits then coming in.

At last on the 28th of April the British were discovered coming up the Maumee with the artillery and a part of their force on boats and a part on land. General Harrison now sent Major William Oliver, of Cincinnati, in search of Green Clay who was far on the way with the remainder of the Kentucky volunteers, and whom he met at Fort Winchester.

The British located their main force at Fort Miami, their old post in 1794, and there began to erect batteries about a mile and a half from the American works.

From the last day of April until the night of the 4th of May the British kept up an almost constant shower of shot and shell, to which the Americans replied, throwing several hundred shots daily. The small supply of shot in the fort made it necessary for the Americans to exercise more caution in the

use of their guns, and at the same time rendered them more effective. Night and day, with here and there snatches of rest, Harrison gave his attention to the affairs of the fort, watching every movement of the enemy and providing against the chances of supplementing the disasters which had yet marked so generally the course of events in the war. Notwithstanding the efforts made to prevent damage from the British guns, a few of our soldiers were killed or wounded every day, and even the General himself narrowly escaped on several occasions. But as yet the British had made little headway toward the capture of the fort, nor would they have done so had they remained before it for the next month, to all appearances. At midnight on the 4th of May, Captain Oliver arrived at the gate of the fort accompanied by a few of General Clay's men, with the news that that officer with twelve hundred Kentuckians was above the Rapids, and would be down to the fort before daybreak on the 5th. Harrison immediately determined on making an attempt to raise the siege. He now sent Captain Hamilton with instructions to Clay to land from six to eight hundred of his troops a mile above the fort on the north side of the river, and this force led by Captain Hamilton was to attack and take the British batteries, spike the guns, destroy the carriages, return to their boats, and cross at once to the fort. The remaining Kentuckians were to land on the south side and cut their way directly to the fort. Being unable to get over the Rapids in the dark, it was nearly nine o'clock on the



morning of the 5th before the first of Clay's little boats came in sight of the fort. General Clay was himself in this boat and was the first to receive the fire of the Indians on the shore. The boats were separated by the rapid current, and the troops under Clay effected landings with great difficulty. From the walls of the fort Harrison saw every thing that was going on, and by sending messengers to direct the movements of the Kentuckians most of them in this division were brought in. At the same time a detachment from the fort joined by a part of Clay's men made a desperate assault on the British, driving them in every direction but with serious loss to to themselves.

This affair had hardly terminated when Harrison, observing the British passing to the north side of the river, saw the moment had come for him to strike again on the opposite side. Of this movement a contemporary writer says:—

“General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of Colonel John Miller of the regulars, against the batteries which had been erected on that side. This detachment was composed of the companies and parts of companies commanded by Captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing, Elliot, and Lieutenants Gwynne and Campbell of the regulars; the volunteers of Alexander's battalion, and Captain Sebree's company of Kentucky militia. The whole amounted only to three hundred and fifty men. Colonel Miller, accompanied by Major Todd, led on his command with the most determined bravery, charged upon the British, and drove them from their batteries, spiked their cannon, and took forty-one prisoners, including an officer, having completely

beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of two hundred British regulars, one hundred and fifty Canadians, and five hundred Indians, being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment that attacked them; but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity that nothing could withstand them."

Colonel William Dudley, to whom unfortunately was given the command of the expedition against the main batteries on the north side of the river, landed with eight hundred men, and led them without hindrance to the batteries, which they captured without difficulty amidst the shouts of the brave Kentuckians. The whole transaction was seen from the fort, and shout answered to shout. But the scene soon changed. With dismay Harrison saw that the whole British force was preparing to move against Dudley without his observing, or apparently caring, for his perilous situation. His men had given themselves up to examining the batteries and works they had captured. Colonel Dudley had forgotten his orders to return immediately, and cross the river to the fort. Every effort was made by Harrison to attract his attention, but to no effect; and finally the General offered a thousand dollars to any soldier who would cross the river and order Dudley to make his escape at once. The offer was taken; but before the daring messenger got over the river, the British and Indians were down upon Dudley, and, although he and his men fought desperately, the work was short. They were overpowered, and about fifty of them killed, and five hundred and fifty captured.

One hundred and fifty escaped to the boats, and gained the fort in safety. In this unfortunate affair, the result of rashness and disobedience, Colonel Dudley was among the killed. Here, as at the River Raisin, the Indians were given up to indiscriminate slaughter in the very presence of the unmitigated coward and scoundrel, Proctor, who commanded the investing force. But fortunately for these brave men the British had another officer, who appeared now for the first time with them in this war, who was, as a soldier and a man of heart, much superior to Proctor. Earlier in the morning he had commanded the Indians on the other side of the river. In the suspension of action on that side he had crossed over, and come on the ground in time to arrest the slaughter of the prisoners, an act he never would have suffered, even had he not promised Governor Harrison at Vincennes to fight like a civilized man, sparing the women, children, and helpless prisoners. This was Tecumseh. In the engagements on the south side of the river eighty-one of the Americans were killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Soon after the capture of the Kentuckians, Proctor sent a summons to General Harrison to surrender the fort.

The following conversation occurred between the British Major, Chambers, who was brought blindfolded into the fort, and General Harrison on this interesting topic:—

“*Major Chambers.*—General Proctor has directed me to demand the surrender of this post. He wishes to spare the effusion of blood.

*General Harrison.*—The demand, under present circumstances, is a most extraordinary one. As General Proctor did not send me a summons to surrender on his first arrival, I had supposed that he believed me determined to do my duty. His present message indicates an opinion of me that I am at a loss to account for.

*Major Chambers.*—General Proctor could never think of saying anything to wound your feelings, sir. The character of General Harrison as an officer is well known. General Proctor's force is very respectable, and there is with him a larger body of Indians than has ever before been embodied.

*General Harrison.*—I believe I have a very correct idea of General Proctor's force; it is not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest, whatever shape he may be pleased hereafter to give to it. Assure the General, however, that he will never have this post surrendered to him upon any terms. Should it fall into his hands, it will be in a manner calculated to do him more honor, and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than any capitulation could possibly do."

Although cannonading was again renewed, most of the Indians, in spite of Tecumseh, left for their homes; and Proctor's force was so reduced that he raised the siege on the 8th, and started precipitately for Canada. The Indians had outnumbered the British and Canadians, and had fought with great desperation. The whole British force brought against Fort Meigs was not much short of three thousand men, whites and Indians.

Colonel William Dudley was a native of Virginia, and at an early age settled in Fayette County, Kentucky. He was a valuable citizen, and belonged to

one of the most noted families of the State. Of Dudley's defeat McAfee says:—

“The defeat of Colonel Dudley very naturally became the subject of much speculation in Kentucky; and a considerable diversity of opinion existed respecting the causes of the disaster and the actors concerned in it. The subject, however, appears very plain. Those who were in the defeat commonly attributed it, very justly, to their own imprudence and zeal, which were not properly controlled and directed by the orders and example of their leader. There was nothing difficult or hazardous in the enterprise. The whole misfortune resulted from the imprudent manner of its execution. The batteries were easily taken, and the retreat was perfectly secure; but the detachment wanted a head to direct and restrain its Kentucky impetuosity to its proper object.”

General Green Clay was a Virginian, born in Powhatan County in 1757, and was the son of Charles Clay. He came to Kentucky at about the age of twenty, and began life as a surveyor and land locator. He finally settled down to farming and was one of the largest land-holders in Madison County. Although devoting his energies to the accumulation of a large landed estate, he gave his attention extensively to the various interests of the country; represented the District of Kentucky in the Virginia Legislature; was a member of the Virginia Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, in 1789, and spoke and voted for that instrument; was a leading member of the convention that framed the second Constitution of Kentucky, in 1799; represented Madison County for a long time in both



branches of the Legislature, and was a speaker of one branch of that body. He had, like so many men of his State, some military aspirations, and became a major-general of militia. After the campaign he retired to his home where he died in 1826. He possessed some ability as a soldier and was one of the most valuable men of his State. His most distinguished child was Cassius Marcellus Clay, the Abolitionist.

Leaving Fort Meigs in the care of General Clay, Harrison set out for Lower Sandusky on the 12th of May, and there he met brave old Governor Meigs himself actually at the head of an armed and mounted body of Ohio citizens, marching to the relief of Fort Meigs.

The plan proposed by Harrison for building vessels to give an equal footing to the Americans on the Lake, and facilitate the transportation of troops to Canada, had at last been adopted by the Administration, and the work committed to Captain O. H. Perry. Steps had also been taken for gathering a new army under Harrison to operate with this fleet. Every effort was now put forth to carry out this plan. The new Secretary of War had, however, not only an aversion to militia, but also to generals who had not the prestige of the Revolution about them. With all Harrison's efforts he could not tell what force he was now going to have for the campaign, nor was he able to tell when Captain Perry would be ready with the fleet. According to General Armstrong the militia were not to be called out until the regular force

enlisting was assembled. This method of procedure put off the call for the militia so late as to jeopardize the benefits of the campaign, and the plan was not agreeable to Harrison. From the outset there had been only an apparent cordiality on the part of General Armstrong towards the commander of the North-western army. Under Eustis and Monroe, Harrison had been allowed a greater width of discretion, perhaps, although Mr. Monroe had the odor of the Revolution about him, and considered himself as possessed of some military ability. Under the new Secretary, Harrison continued his voluminous communications to the Department, freely discussing every point relating to his present condition and the prospects of the approaching campaign. But there is, by no means, that evidence of his ideas and standing being so well secured in the esteem of the new and more pretentious administration of the War Department, as had been the case under Dr. Eustis and his temporary successor. In fact the Secretary of War went so far as to say to Harrison in one of his earliest communications to him that the course of the Department as to his district was in no way fixed or shaped from his recommendations.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE INDIANS—THE WESTERN ARMY ON THE WAY TO  
CANADA—PERRY ON THE LAKE—THE WONDER-  
FUL NAVAL VICTORY.

THE following letter to old Governor Shelby, by direction of the President, in the absence of General Armstrong, indicates a different tone as to the Commander of the North-western army:—

“WAR OFFICE, September 27, 1813.

“SIR,—In the absence of the Secretary of War, I have the honor to inform your excellency that the President has been pleased to approve your arrangements in substituting volunteers for the detached militia required by General Harrison.

“The term of service for the detachment under your excellency must depend on the arrangements of the commanding general, to whom you are referred for the necessary information relative to their duty, and the points where your troops will be expected to operate.

“It will be proper for your excellency to keep up a correspondence with General Harrison. This is rendered the more necessary, as the several requisitions which have been made by him for volunteers and militia have not been accurately reported to the War Office; and it is possible he may find it advisable to discharge a part of your force before they reach the frontier.

“In the present critical period of the campaign it

seems advisable to submit all further arrangements to General Harrison, under the instructions he has received from the President through the Secretary of War.

“With perfect respect, I have the honor to be your excellency’s most obedient humble servant,

“DANIEL PARKER, C. C., War Department.

“His Excellency, ISAAC SHELBY, Governor of Kentucky.”

On the return of Harrison from Cincinnati in June, he met the friendly chiefs of the Delaware, Shawnee, Seneca, and Wyandot tribes at Franklinton. Many of these Indians had long desired to engage in the war on the side of the United States, and the General now told them that the time had come for them to take a position, and that the Government wanted no enemies within its lines. To what use those should be put who should determine to join him would be a matter yet to be determined, and, if they became soldiers of the United States, they should conform to the United States, and not the British and Indian, standard of civilized warfare; that no old people, women, children, and prisoners should be murdered. It is said that Harrison did, however, intimate that, if Proctor was captured, he should be delivered to them to do with him as they pleased, providing they pleased to treat him as a squaw only. This proposition, not at all disagreeable to the Indians, General Harrison is supposed to have made in ridicule of the story that Proctor had made an agreement with Tecumseh to deliver Harrison and his men, to be captured at Fort Meigs, to the Indians to be burned. This story is like thousands of such fabrications which have been made to

take place as true history. But there was not a word of truth in it, no matter how much Tecumseh would have rejoiced in the downfall of the man who had frustrated his scheme of a great Indian confederacy. There are several reasons why Tecumseh never entered into an agreement of the kind with Proctor, leaving out of consideration the charitable supposition that the latter still had some humane feelings, a thing which Americans at that time were hardly disposed to admit. Tecumseh it was who stopped the massacre of Dudley's men at Fort Meigs. Tecumseh's subsequent conduct to the end of his life would also contradict the view that he had made such an agreement with Proctor; and besides all other matters of any weight in the case, he had agreed with Harrison before the war began that defenseless prisoners should be spared from savage barbarity.

The policy of the United States had been unfavorable to the employment of Indians as soldiers, and, to a great extent, this was carried out during the War of 1812. The Indians, restless and disposed to be engaged somewhere, were dissatisfied with the course which held them back. The British policy, on the contrary, was to draw all the Indians into their service. Many of the friendly Indians, who were greatly devoted to the Americans, had, from the outset, been employed as guides, spies, and messengers, and were now rendering great service in these ways. Among the most faithful of these men was James Logan; Beaver, a



young Delaware chief; and "Captain Johnny," a Shawnee chief. At Seneca, where Harrison had his head-quarters a part of the spring and summer of 1813, Captain Johnny slept as a self-appointed guard at the General's tent door. Johnny was at the siege of Fort Meigs, and was allowed to take part in the sorties of the 5th of May, where he fought as well as the bravest. While at Seneca the life of General Harrison was saved by Beaver. A Shawnee warrior, who was looking for an opportunity to assassinate Harrison, was discovered and killed by Beaver. He then told why he had committed the deed, and asked the Shawnees to do with him as they chose. But they approved his act. And at Greenville, in 1815, General Lewis Cass in the council openly thanked Beaver, in the name of the United States, for his act, and made him an especial present, to express the feelings of the country toward him for saving the life of Harrison.

Logan was one of the most valuable and trusted of Harrison's scouts at the outbreak of the war. In November, 1812, before the Americans had taken position at the Rapids, he was sent by the General to reconnoiter in that neighborhood. He took with him Captain Johnny and Bright Horn, two other faithful friends of the Americans, who were always with him, and suddenly came upon six or seven Indians belonging to the British. Logan assured these Indians that they were on their way to join the British. But this the British Indians suspected to be untrue, and a close watch was kept on them. Logan, finally led

to believe that the design was to take his life, notified his companions that when he gave the signal they should fight for life. The opportunity soon occurred. They killed four or five of the enemy, when, the others having escaped, Logan and his companions reached the camp of General Winchester, where Logan soon after died from a wound received in this fight. He had been accused of treachery to the American cause by some soldiers in Winchester's army, and had hoped by this brave conduct to wipe out the slander. This he did, the soldiers using every means in their power to show him how deeply he was appreciated. One of the British Indians who fell in this rencounter was said to be the distinguished chief Winemack, who had faithfully stood by Harrison at Vincennes; but who, at last, had fallen into the general current under the lead of Tecumseh. Logan was captured by General Benjamin Logan, of Kentucky, in 1786, and lived for a long time in his family. From this circumstance he received his name. His wife had also been a captive in a white family (Colonel John Hardin's), in Kentucky, for several years before the treaty of Greenville. And before he died he requested that his wife and children should be sent to Kentucky, out of the way of bad Indians, and that his children should be educated like whites. He urged Martin D. Hardin to see that money due him should be paid to his family, and that his other wishes should be carried out. Logan was a relative (his mother being a sister, perhaps) of Tecumseh.

At Franklinton, Harrison received a messenger from General Clay that the British and Indians had again invested Fort Meigs. He at once set out for that point with a few hundred troops, and on the 28th of June reached it in time to know that the enemy had disappeared. On the 1st of July he again set out for Sandusky, with a company of Colonel R. M. Johnson's mounted regiment as an escort. At this time he visited Cleveland, one of the supply depots, where Colonel Jesup was now building boats for transporting troops on the lake in the proposed expedition against Malden. About this time he received an order from the Secretary of War to send Colonel Johnson and his mounted riflemen to operate against the Indians at Kaskaskia. This order Harrison regretted to put into execution, as he desired the services of Colonel Johnson in the coming campaign. Johnson and his men also objected to the Secretary's expedition, as they had come out to go with Harrison to Detroit and Malden, and at the suggestion of the General the order was recalled.

On the 20th of July the order was at last received for calling out the militia to be used in the campaign. In the meantime the British and Indians had again appeared before Fort Meigs, but Harrison did not believe they meant to attack that place. And they did soon disappear, leaving him more firmly convinced of the correctness of his first conclusion that they meant to draw him from the support of the posts on the Lake, with a design of destroying them. His head-quarters were now nine miles from Lower San-

dusky on the Sandusky River, at Seneca, and he believed the British designed attacking him there or at Lower Sandusky. Major George Croghan with one hundred and sixty men was in command of the fort (Stephenson) at Sandusky. It was the impression of the General and his officers that Fort Stephenson could not be held against an attack by artillery, and that it should be abandoned if the case required. It was not in itself very important, as it had not been made an extensive depository for the supplies collecting for the campaign. The General's great object was to protect Upper Sandusky and Fort Meigs, the two important depots of the army; and for this reason he had taken up his position at Seneca, from which he could watch all the enemy's movements, and in any emergency move to the support of either of these posts.

On the 29th of July Harrison, hearing that the British had left Fort Meigs and the Maumee and entered Sandusky Bay with a view of attacking Lower Sandusky, called a council of his officers in which it was decided to withdraw the garrison from Fort Stephenson; and accordingly this order was sent to Major Croghan:—

“SIR,—Immediately on receiving this letter you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it, and repair with your command this night to head-quarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch.”

But before Croghan could carry out the order the Indians had arrived before the fort, and he returned this answer :—

“SIR,—I have just received yours of yesterday, ten o’clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by Heavens we can.”

Not exactly appreciating the tone of this reply, the General immediately sent the following, and Colonel Samuel Wells with it :—

JULY 30, 1813.

“SIR,—The General has just received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night, as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be intrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair with Colonel Ball’s squadron to this place.

“By command, etc.,

A. H. HOLMES,

“Assistant Adjutant-General.”

And poor Croghan had to go all the way up to Seneca to tell the General that the loudness of his answer was not designed for him but for the enemy, as he expected it would fall into their hands. This



explanation being satisfactory, the boy-major was sent back to his command at Fort Stephenson.

The following official correspondence will close the history of this interesting and spirited affair:—

## MAJOR CROGHAN'S NOTE.

(COPY.)

“LOWER SANDUSKY, August 3, 1813.

“DEAR SIR,—The enemy made an attempt to storm us last evening, but was repulsed with the loss of at least one hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners. One lieutenant-colonel (Lieutenant-Colonel Short), a major, and a lieutenant, with about forty privates, are dead in our ditch. I have lost but one in killed, and but few wounded. Further statements will be made you by the bearer.

“GEORGE CROGHAN, Major,  
“Commanding Fort Sandusky.

“N. B.—Since writing the above, two soldiers of the 41st Regiment have got in, who state that the enemy have retreated. In fact, one of their gun-boats is within three hundred yards of our works, said to be loaded with camp equipage, etc., which they, in their hurry, have left.

“GEORGE CROGHAN.”

## FROM GENERAL HARRISON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, SENECA TOWN,  
“August 5, 1813—6 o'clock A. M. }

“I have the honor to inclose you Major Croghan's report of the attack upon the fort, which has this moment come to hand. Fortunately the mail is not closed.

“With great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,  
WM. HENRY HARRISON.”

““LOWER SANDUSKY, August 3, 1813.

““DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that the combined force of the enemy, amounting to at least five hundred regulars, and seven or eight hundred Indians,

under the immediate command of General Proctor, made its appearance before this place, early on Sunday evening last, and so soon as the General had made such disposition of his troops as would cut off my retreat, should I be disposed to make one, he sent Colonel Elliot, accompanied by Major Chambers, with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which he should probably not have it in his power to do should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm. My answer to the summons was, that I was determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and that no force however large should induce me to surrender it. So soon as the flag had returned, a brisk fire was opened upon us from the gun-boats in the river and from a five and one-half inch howitzer on shore, which was kept up with little intermission throughout the night. At an early hour the next morning, three *sixes* (which had been placed during the night within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets) began to play upon us, but with little effect. About four o'clock P. M., discovering that the fire from all his guns was concentrated against the north-western angle of the fort, I became confident that his object was to make a breach, and attempt to storm the works at that point. I therefore ordered out as many men as could be employed for the purpose of strengthening that part, which was so effectually secured by means of bags of flour, sand, etc., that the picketing suffered little or no injury; notwithstanding which, the enemy, about five hundred, having formed in close column, advanced to assault our works at the expected point, at the same time making two feints on the front of Captain Hunter's lines. The column which advanced against the north-western angle, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, was so enveloped in smoke as not to be discovered until it had approached within eighteen or twenty paces of the lines, but the men being all at their

posts and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column a little into confusion; being quickly rallied it advanced to the outer works and began to leap into the ditch. Just at that moment a fire of grape was opened from our six-pounder (which had been previously arranged so as to rake in that direction) which, together with the musketry, threw them into such confusion that they were compelled to retire precipitately to the woods.

“‘During the assault, which lasted about half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy’s artillery (which consisted of five sixes and a howitzer) but without effect. My whole loss during the siege was one killed and seven wounded slightly. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners must exceed one hundred and fifty; one lieutenant-colonel, a lieutenant, and fifty rank and file were found in and about the ditch, dead or wounded. Those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians. Seventy stand of arms, and several braces of pistols have been collected near the works. About three in the morning the enemy sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and considerable military stores.

“‘Too much praise can not be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege. Yours with respect,

G. CROGHAN,

“‘Major 17th United States Infantry, Com. L. S.

“‘Major-General HARRISON, Commanding N. W. Army.’”

Croghan was, soon after this event, given the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel by President Madison; and was besides the recipient of a great deal of attention from the newspapers and everybody else, the women not excepted. In fact, all things taken together, Croghan had done the neatest thing yet

recorded in the history of the North-western army. While Colonel Croghan was receiving public praises, General Harrison came in for no inconsiderable blame for his part in the same affair. The General was censured for his disposition to abandon Fort Stephenson, and for his failure to go to its relief. It was, however, well known to Croghan, and all the officers, that the place could not be held in case of a persistent and skillful siege. It had been an old post, in which the Government had conducted its affairs with the Indians; and the small inclosure, for the accommodation of two hundred troops, had been erected originally for the purpose of keeping out drunken Indians, if necessary. There was at least one point in the neighborhood high enough to completely command the fort. When it became probable that the British meant to strike this point first, General Harrison had looked over the ground, and had decided to change the position of the fort. It had not yet been made an import point of supplies for the army, and it was deemed advisable by all the officers to abandon it. And the defense of the other really important points, upon which it was believed Tecumseh was ready to fall, as well as the care of the supplies at Seneca, made it necessary for Harrison to move with great caution. His effective force at Seneca was hardly sufficient to be relied upon out of its intrenchments. And besides this the British and Indian force in the neighborhood was supposed to be over five thousand. But the gossip about the matter was so great as to call out counteracting statements

from those best acquainted with the circumstances. The following paper will be sufficient to illustrate the point in question:—

“LOWER SENECA TOWN, August 19, 1813.

“The undersigned, being the general field and staff officers with that portion of the North-western army under the immediate command of General Harrison, have observed, with regret and surprise, that charges, as improper in the form as in the substance, have been made against the conduct of General Harrison during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky. At another time, and under ordinary circumstances, we should deem it improper and unmilitary thus publicly to give any opinion respecting the movements of the army. But public confidence in the Commanding General is essential to the success of the campaign, and causelessly to withdraw or to withhold that confidence is more than individual injustice; it becomes a serious injury to the service. A part of the force of which the American army consists will derive its greatest strength and efficacy from a confidence in the Commanding General, and from those moral causes which accompany and give energy to public opinion. A very erroneous idea respecting the number of the troops then at the disposal of the General has doubtless been the primary cause of those unfortunate and unfounded impressions. In that respect we have fortunately experienced a very favorable change. But we refer the public to the General’s official report to the Secretary of War of Major Croghan’s successful defense of Lower Sandusky. In that will be found a statement of our whole disposable force; and he who believes that with such a force, and under the circumstances which then occurred, General Harrison ought to have advanced upon the enemy must be left to correct his opinion in the school of experience.

“On a review of the course then adopted, we are



decidedly of the opinion that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our own circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. The reasons for this opinion it is evidently improper now to give; but we hold ourselves ready at a future period, and when other circumstances shall have intervened, to satisfy every man of its correctness who is anxious to investigate and willing to receive the truth. And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a general whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country.

“LEWIS CASS, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

“SAMUEL WELLS, Col. 17 R. U. S. I.

“THOMAS D. OWINGS, Col. 28 R. U. S. I.

“GEORGE PAUL, Col. 17 R. U. S. I.

“J. C. BARTLETT, Col. Q. M. G.

“JAMES V. BALL, Lieut. Col.

“ROBERT MORRISON, Lieut. Col.

“GEORGE TODD, Maj. 19 R. U. S. I.

“WILLIAM TRIGG, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.

“JAMES SMILEY, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.

“RD. GRAHAM, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.

“GEORGE CROGHAN, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.

“L. HUKILL, Maj. and Assist. Insp. Gen.

“E. D. WOOD, Maj. Engineers.”

The appearance of the British again in the neighborhood of Fort Meigs had once more brought out a great concourse of chivalrous citizens by the call of Governor Meigs, and these men were marching from every point toward the seat of war. But Henry Proctor did not wait for their arrival. The state of preparations for the coming campaign, the plans of the War Department to employ few militia, the uncertainty as to the number that would actually be needed, and the necessity to hoard the magazines of

supplies then collecting for the campaign, left nothing for General Harrison but to dismiss this force. This was an unsatisfactory turn in the affair to these men who were then anxious to be led on to conquest. From their ranks came much of the complaint as to the conduct of General Harrison. It was soon discovered, too, that they had been called out for forty days, when the General was not authorized to accept them for less than six months. They were all disbanded and the officers raised a storm of abuse, although their time would have expired before the fleet was ready to transport them to Canada. The censure of Harrison was without any good foundation, and most of it was ridiculous, which was felt to be the case long before the end of the campaign.

At last early in August the order came to call out more of the militia to raise the number of troops to seven thousand, as had been designed by the War Department. The governors of Ohio and Kentucky were at once notified by messengers from Harrison, and every effort was put forth to assemble the troops of every grade in the neighborhood of the Rapids of the Maumee to co-operate with the fleet. Governor Shelby had issued an order for his proportion of two thousand militia to rendezvous at Newport opposite Cincinnati, on the last day of August, and there he proposed meeting them, to lead them himself. General Harrison had almost daily communications with Captain Perry as to the progress of the fleet under his construction, and great anxiety was felt by him, as well as impatience on the part of the

army and people for the movement to be made before the only fit season for such a campaign should pass away. In the meantime something had been done, by the governors of Indiana and Illinois, and General Howard of Missouri, towards quieting the Indians within their borders. Colonel Russell had made several raids on the upper branches of the Wabash with success, and many of the Indians were found to be disposed to make peace with the United States.

At last on the 2d of August Perry began to get his vessels over the bar into the open lake at Erie, where he had been working with great zeal for several months. On the 15th, he entered Sandusky Bay with his fleet of ten vessels, the Lawrence, Niagara, Ariel, Scorpion, Porcupine, Tigress, Caledonia, Somers, Trippe, and Ohio, three of them brigs, six schooners, and one sloop. The first six of these boats he had built entirely and the others merely fitted up. These vessels carried fifty-four guns of all sizes. The British fleet consisted of the Little Belt, Detroit, Hunter, Queen Charlotte, Lady Prevost, and Chippewa, and bore sixty-three guns. General Harrison met Perry on the flag-ship on the 19th to consider the best method of carrying out the plan of the campaign. It was here decided to select one hundred and fifty men from the army to complete the crews of the vessels, and that Perry should then seek a combat with the British fleet. This being done Perry sailed for Malden, near the mouth of the Detroit River. Here he showed himself for a few days for the purpose of drawing out the British, but

not being successful in this he returned to Put-in-Bay. On the 10th of September Commodore Barclay appeared with the British fleet, and Perry sailed out to meet him, and a few minutes before twelve o'clock the first naval battle ever fought on Lake Erie, and the first ever seen by the young American commander began. The *Ohio*, one of Perry's boats, was not in the action; this gave him still the advantage of three vessels over the British, yet the crews were about equal, and besides Barclay being an old sea-captain with better vessels and having a veteran crew, he carried thirteen guns more than the Americans. Perry ran up his fighting flag bearing the inscription, "Don't give up the ship," on the *Lawrence*; and amidst the shouts of his men the battle began.

"The *Niagara* was astern of the *Lawrence*, and the *Caledonia* abeam of the *Queen Charlotte* in the line of approach, when the action commenced. She, at first, discharged her first division; but when their shot fell short of the *Queen Charlotte*, Captain Elliot did not order the helm put up, and run down to within half a cable's length of his adversary, the *Queen Charlotte*, but directed his lieutenant to *cease firing* with the carronades, and *fire* with his *long twelves only*. The *Queen Charlotte* had twenties to the *Niagara's* twenty-four pound carronades, but no long guns; and, therefore, as she could neither reach the *Niagara* with her carronades, nor run up against the wind, and lay her alongside, she packed all sail, and run down to the aid of the *Detroit* and laid the *Lawrence* and the *Caledonia* alongside at half past twelve o'clock M. . . . The *Lawrence* for two and a half hours sustained the fire of the *Detroit*, and for two hours, that of the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte*, and most of that of the *Hunter*; forty-four

guns, with all the marines, at half musket-shot. The dead lay where they fell, until the action was over. Not a murmur was heard upon the deck of the *Lawrence*. Perry was as cool as if on ordinary duty. 'Why does not the *Niagara* come down and help us?' escaped from the wounded and dying. Perry worked with his own hands at the last gun, and when that was disabled, he had only his little brother, fourteen men, and himself, alive and unhurt on board the *Lawrence*. Finding the *Niagara* did not come down, he exclaimed, 'Lower the boat, and I will go and bring her down.' "

Perry carried his flag with him to the *Niagara*, which he reached in safety, and shortly before three o'clock hoisted it over that vessel. The *Lawrence* struck and dropped out of place. The *Caledonia* took the position she had occupied. Perry now brought up the *Niagara* and ran between the *Detroit* and the *Hunter*, pouring terrific broadsides into both of these vessels, and at the same time engaging the *Queen Charlotte*. This bold maneuver the British were not able to stand, and against three o'clock the whole fleet had surrendered, with Commodore Barclay and six hundred men. On the *Lawrence* twenty-two men were killed, and sixty-one wounded. The *Niagara* had two killed and twenty-one wounded; the *Caledonia*, three wounded; the *Somers* and *Trippe*, each two wounded; the *Scorpion*, two killed; and the *Ariel*, one killed and two wounded. The British had forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded. The dead were buried together at Erie with great ceremony participated in by the men of both nations.



Perry wrote as follows of his brilliant achievement:—

“U. S. BRIG NIAGARA, OFF THE WESTERN SISTER,  
“HEAD OF LAKE ERIE, September 10, 1813, 4 P. M. } ”

“SIR,—It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

“I have the honor to be be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

O. H. PERRY.

“The Hon. Wm. JONES, Secretary of the Navy.”

“U. S. BRIG NIAGARA, OFF THE WESTERN SISTER,  
“HEAD OF LAKE ERIE, September 10, 1813, 4 P. M. } ”

“DEAR GENERAL,—We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours with great respect and esteem,

“O. H. PERRY.”

“SEPTEMBER 11, 1812.

“DEAR SIR,—We have a great number of prisoners, which I wish to land. Will you be so good as to order a guard to receive them, and inform me the place? Considerable numbers have been killed and wounded on both sides. From the best information, we have more prisoners than we have men on board our vessels.

“In great haste, yours very truly,

“General HARRISON.”

O. H. PERRY.”

COPY OF A LETTER FROM COMMODORE PERRY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

“UNITED STATES SCHOONER ARIEL,  
“PUT-IN-BAY, 13th September, 1813. } ”

“SIR,—In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy’s fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the

action. On the morning of the 10th inst., at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-in-Bay, when I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under way, the wind light at S. W., and stood for him. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled to S. E., and brought us to windward; formed the line, and bore up. At fifteen minutes before 12 the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before 12 the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed at the *Lawrence*, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bowline being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing-master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliot was enabled to bring his vessel, the *Niagara*, gallantly into close action. I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the *Niagara*, the flag of the *Lawrence* come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last; and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes past 2 the signal was made for 'close action.' The *Niagara* being very little

injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line; bore up, and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol-shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliot, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and a sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

“Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all the others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen. Lieutenant Yarnall, first of the *Lawrence*, although several times wounded, refused to quit the deck. Midshipman Forrest (doing duty as lieutenant) and Sailing-master Taylor were of great assistance to me. I have great pain in stating to you the death of Lieutenant Brook, of the marines, and Midshipman Laub, both of the *Lawrence*, and Midshipman John Clarke, of the *Scorpion*; they were valuable and promising officers. Mr. Hambleton, purser, who volunteered his services on deck, was severely wounded late in the action. Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, of the *Lawrence*, were severely wounded. On board of the *Niagara* Lieutenants Smith and Edwards, and Midshipman Webster (doing duty as sailing-master), behaved in a very handsome manner. Captain Brevoort, of the army, who acted as a volunteer in the capacity of a marine officer, on board that vessel, is an excellent and brave officer, and with his musketry did great execution. Lieutenant Turner, commanding the *Caledonia*, brought that vessel into action in the most able manner, and is an officer that in all situations may be relied on. The *Ariel*, Lieutenant Packet, and *Scorpion*, Sailing-master Champlin, were enabled to get early into action, and were of great service. Captain Elliot speaks in the highest terms of Magrath,

purser, who had been dispatched in a boat on service previous to my getting on board the *Niagara*; and, being a seaman, since the action has rendered essential service in taking charge of one of the prizes. Of Captain Elliot, already so well known to the Government, it would be almost superfluous to speak. In this action he evinced his characteristic bravery and judgment; and, since the close of the action, has given me the most able and essential assistance.

“I have the honor to inclose you a list of the killed and wounded, together with a statement of the relative force of the squadrons. The captain and first lieutenant of the *Queen Charlotte*, and first lieutenant of *Detroit*, were killed; Captain Barclay, senior officer, and the commander of the *Lady Prevost*, severely wounded. Their loss in killed and wounded I have not yet been able to ascertain; it must, however, have been very great.

“Very respectfully, I have the honor to be sir, your obedient servant,  
O. H. PERRY.”

“The Hon. WILLIAM JONES, Secretary of the Navy.”

## CHAPTER XVII.

HARRISON IN CANADA—BATTLE OF THE THAMES—DEATH  
OF TECUMSEH—END OF THE INDIAN  
CONFEDERACY.

ON the 15th of September old Governor Shelby arrived at Sandusky with the Kentuckians, over three thousand strong, and by the 20th the greater part of the troops designed for the expedition was on the Maumee and in the neighborhood of Sandusky Bay or Put-in-Bay.

On the 20th Captain Perry wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that he had for several days been transporting General Harrison's troops. On the 24th he again wrote :—

COPY OF A LETTER FROM COMMODORE O. H. PERRY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, DATED

“UNITED STATES SCHOONER ARIEL, PUT-IN-BAY, }  
“September 24, 1813. }

“SIR,—I have the honor to acquaint you that about twelve hundred troops were yesterday transported to a small island distant about four leagues from Malden, notwithstanding it blew hard with frequent squalls. This day, although the weather is not settled, the squadron will again take over as many more. We only wait for favorable weather to make a final move. I need not assure you, sir, that every possible exertion will be made by the officers and men under my command to assist the advance of the



army, and it affords me great pleasure to have it in my power to say that the utmost harmony prevails between the army and navy. I have the honor to be, etc.,

“O. H. PERRY.”

On the 25th the greater part of the army was landed on the island called Middle Sister. Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted Kentuckians was ordered to move around the head of the Lake at the proper time. Green Clay and the Kentuckians with him at Fort Meigs also joined the expedition under Harrison, although their time of service had expired. On the 25th Harrison and Perry reconnoitered the Canada shore and fixed upon a point of landing. On the 27th the army was embarked from Middle Sister; and just before the troops were landed, the following red-white-and-blue address was sent among them by General Harrison:—

“The General entreats his brave troops to remember that they are the sons of sires whose fame is immortal; that they are to fight for the rights of their insulted *country*, while their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master. Kentuckians! remember the River Raisin; but remember it only whilst victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier can not be gratified upon a fallen enemy.

“By command. ROBT. BUTLER, A. A. General.”

A short time afterwards the General wrote this letter to the Secretary of War:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, AMHERSTBURG, September 27, 1813.

“SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that I landed the army under my command about three miles below this place at three o'clock this evening, without opposition, and took possession of the town in an hour after. General

Proctor has retreated to Sandwich with his regular troops and Indians, having previously burned the fort, navy-yard, barracks, and public store-house. The two latter were very extensive covering several acres of ground. I will pursue the enemy to-morrow, although there is no probability of my overtaking him, as he has upwards of one thousand horses, and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate to be able to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers. It is supposed here that General Proctor intends to establish himself upon the river French, forty miles from Malden.

“I have the honor to be, etc., WM. H. HARRISON.”

On the 29th the army reached Sandwich, and the same day Duncan McArthur crossed and took possession of Detroit, which the British had evacuated. On this day, too, Harrison issued the following:—

#### **Proclamation.**

“The enemy having been driven from the Territory of Michigan, and a part of the army under my command having taken possession of it, it becomes necessary that the civil government of the Territory should be re-established, and the former officers renew the exercise of their authority; I have therefore thought proper to proclaim that all appointments and commissions which have been derived from British officers are at an end; that the citizens of the Territory are restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed previously to the capitulation made by General Hull on the 15th of August, 1812. Under the present circumstances, and until the will of the Government be known, I have thought proper to direct that all persons having civil offices in the territory of Michigan, at the period of the capitulation of Detroit, resume the exercise of the powers appertaining to their offices respectively. In the present dispersed state of its

population, many officers are doubtless absent. In all cases thus situated, the last incumbent who resigned the office will resume the exercise of its duties. The laws in force at the period above mentioned will be re-established and continue in force until repealed by the proper authority.

“Given at head-quarters, the 29th day of September, 1813. W. M. H. HARRISON.

“By the General: JOHN O’FALLAN, Aid-de-Camp.”

On the morning of the first of October, Colonel R. M. Johnson with his mounted men joined the army at Sandwich. Until this time the only horse with the army after landing in Canada, according to a letter of General Harrison to Return Jonathan Meigs, was a mean little Canadian pony on which was mounted the patriotic and venerable Shelby. On the next day the pursuit of the British was resumed, and in the evening of the 5th the battle of the Thames was fought. The following letters from General Harrison announce the result:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR MORAVIAN TOWN, ON THE  
“RIVER THAMES, 80 MILES FROM DETROIT,  
“5th October, 1813. }

“SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that, by the blessing of Providence, the army under my command has this evening obtained a complete victory over the combined Indian and British forces under the command of General Proctor. I believe that nearly the whole of the enemy’s regulars are taken or killed. Amongst the former are all the superior officers excepting General Proctor. My mounted men are now in pursuit of him. Our loss is very trifling. The brave Colonel R. M. Johnson is the only officer whom I have heard of that is wounded; he badly, but I hope not dangerously.

“I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient humble servant, WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

“The Hon. JOHN ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.”

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DETROIT, 9th October, 1813.

“SIR,—In my letter from Sandwich, of the 30th ultimo, I did myself the honor to inform you that I was preparing to pursue the enemy the following day. From various causes, however, I was unable to put the troops in motion until the morning of the 2d inst., and then to take with me only about one hundred and forty of the regular troops, Johnson’s mounted regiment, and such of Governor Shelby’s volunteers as were fit for a rapid march, the whole amounting to about three thousand five hundred men. To General McArthur (with about seven hundred effectives) the protection of this place and the sick was committed. General Cass’s brigade, and the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, were left at Sandwich, with orders to follow me as soon as the men received their knapsacks and blankets, which had been left on an island in Lake Erie.

“The unavoidable delay at Sandwich was attended with no disadvantage to us. General Proctor had posted himself at Dalson’s, on the right bank of the Thames (or Trench), fifty-six miles from this place, where I was informed he intended to fortify and wait to receive me. He must have believed, however, that I had no disposition to follow him, or that he had secured my continuance here, by the reports that were circulated that the Indians would attack and destroy this place upon the advance of the army, as he neglected to commence the breaking up the bridges until the night of the 2d inst. On that night our army reached the river, which is twenty-five miles from Sandwich, and is one of four streams crossing our route, over all of which are bridges, and, being deep and muddy, are unfordable for a considerable distance into the country; the bridge here was found entire, and in the morning I proceeded with Johnson’s regiment to save, if possible, the others. At the second bridge over a branch of the River Thames we were fortunate enough to capture a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been sent by General Proctor to destroy them. From the prisoners I learned that the third bridge was broken up, and that the enemy had no certain information of our advance. The bridge having been imperfectly destroyed, was soon repaired, and the army encamped at Drake’s farm, four miles below Dalson’s.



“The River Thames, along the banks of which our route lay, is a fine deep stream, navigable for vessels of considerable burthen, after the passage of the bar at its mouth, over which there is six and a half feet of water.

“The baggage of the army was brought from Detroit in boats protected by three gun-boats, which Commodore Perry had furnished for the purpose, as well as to cover the passage of the army over the Thames itself, or the mouths of its tributary streams; the banks being low, and the country generally open (prairies) as high as Dalson’s, these vessels were well calculated for that purpose. Above Dalson’s, however, the character of the river and adjacent country is considerably changed—the former, though still deep, is very narrow, and its banks high and woody. The commodore and myself, therefore, agreed upon the propriety of leaving the boats under a guard of one hundred and fifty infantry; and I determined to trust to fortune and the bravery of my troops to effect the passage of the river. Below a place called Chatham, and four miles above Dalson’s, is the third unfordable branch of the Thames. The bridge over its mouth had been taken up by the Indians, as well as that at McGregor’s Mills, one mile above. Several hundred of the Indians remained to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank of the creek, as well as that of the river. Believing that the whole force of the enemy was there, I halted the army, formed in order of battle, and brought up our two six pounders to cover the party that were ordered to repair the bridge. A few shot from those pieces soon drove off the Indians, and enabled us, in two hours, to repair the bridge and cross the troops. Colonel Johnson’s mounted regiment, being upon the right of the army, had seized the remains of the bridge at the mills under a heavy fire from the Indians. Our loss upon this occasion was two killed and three or four wounded; that of the enemy was ascertained to be considerably greater. A house near the bridge, containing a very considerable number of muskets, had been set on fire; but it was extinguished by our troops, and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge we found one of the enemy’s vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance



stores; and learned that they were a few miles ahead of us, still on the right bank of the river, with the great body of the Indians. At Bowles' farm, four miles from the bridge, we halted for the night; found two other vessels and a large distillery, filled with ordnance and other valuable stores to an immense amount, in flames (it was impossible to put out the fire); two twenty-four pounders with their carriages were taken, and a large quantity of ball and shells of various sizes. The army was put in motion early in the morning of the 5th. I pushed on in advance with the mounted regiment, and requested Governor Shelby to follow as expeditiously as possible with the infantry; the governor's zeal and that of his men enabled them to keep up with the cavalry, and, by 9 o'clock, we were at Arnold's Mills, having taken, in the course of the morning, two gun-boats and several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition.

"A rapid at the river at Arnold's Mills affords the only fording to be met with for a considerable distance, but, upon examination, it was found too deep for the infantry. Having, however, fortunately taken two or three boats and some Indian canoes on the spot, and obliging the horsemen to take a footman behind each, the whole were safely crossed by 12 o'clock. Eight miles from the crossing we passed a farm where a part of the British troops had encamped the night before, under the command of Colonel Warburton. The detachment with General Proctor had arrived the day before at the Moravian towns, four miles higher up. Being now certainly near the enemy, I directed the advance of Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march, for the purpose of procuring intelligence. The officer commanding it in a short time sent to inform me that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed across our line of march. One of the enemy's wagoners being also taken prisoner, from the information received from him, and my own observation, assisted by some of my officers, I soon ascertained enough of their position and order of battle to determine that which it was proper for me to adopt.

"I have the honor herewith to inclose you my general order of the 27th ult., prescribing the order of march and of battle when the whole army should act together. But as the number

and description of the troops had been essentially changed since the issuing of the order, it became necessary to make a corresponding alteration in their disposition. From the place where our army was last halted to the Moravian towns, a distance of about three and a half miles, the road passes through a beech forest without any clearing, and for the first two miles near to the bank of the river. At from two to three hundred yards from the river a swamp extends parallel to it, throughout the whole distance. The intermediate ground is dry, and, although the trees are tolerably thick, it is in many places clear of underbrush. Across this strip of land, its left resting upon the river, supported by artillery placed in the wood, their right in the swamp, covered by the whole of their Indian force, the British troops were drawn up.

“The troops at my disposal consisted of about one hundred and twenty regulars of the 27th Regiment, five brigades of Kentucky militia infantry, under his excellency Governor Shelby, averaging less than five hundred men, and Colonel Johnson’s regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate of something above three thousand. No disposition of an army opposed to an Indian force can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter’s brigade of five hundred men formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp; General King’s brigade as a second line, one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of Potter’s, and Chiles’s brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major-General Henry; the whole of General Desha’s division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

“Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson’s regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy; and, upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and, forming upon that flank, to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moment’s reflection, however, convinced me that, from the thickness of the woods, and the swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do anything on horseback,

and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security. I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once by a charge of the mounted infantry. The measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conforming to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery), its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th Regiment, under their colonel (Paul), occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery; and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The *crotchet* formed by the front line and General Desha's division was an important point. At that place the venerable Governor of Kentucky was posted, who, at the age of sixty-six, preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the Revolutionary War, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Butler; my gallant friend, Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp; and Brigadier-General Cass, who, having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge. The horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column, at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in

front was over. The British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians, Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support; and the enemy, receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.

"I can give no satisfactory information of the number of Indians that were in the action, but there must have been considerably upwards of one thousand. From the documents in my possession (General Proctor's official letters, all of which were taken), and from the information of respectable inhabitants of this Territory, the Indians kept in pay by the British were much more numerous than has been generally supposed. In a letter to General De Rottenburg, of the 27th inst., General Proctor speaks of having prevailed upon most of the Indians to accompany him. Of these it is certain that fifty or sixty Wyandot warriors abandoned him.

"The number of our troops was certainly greater than that of the enemy; but when it is recollected that they had chosen a position that effectually secured their flank, which it was impossible for us to turn, and that we could not present to them a line more extended than their own, it will not be considered arrogant to claim for my troops the palm of superior bravery.

"In communicating to the President through you, sir, my opinion of the conduct of the officers who served under my command, I am at a loss how to mention that of Governor Shelby, being convinced that no eulogium of mine can reach his merit. The Governor of an independent State, greatly my superior in



years, in experience, and in military character, he placed himself under my command, and was not more remarkable for his zeal and activity than for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he obeyed my orders. The Major-Generals Henry and Desha, and the Brigadiers Allen, Caldwell, King, Chiles, and Trotter, all of the Kentucky volunteers, manifested great zeal and activity. Of Governor Shelby's staff, his Adjutant-General, Colonel McDowell, and his Quartermaster-General, Colonel Walker, rendered great service, as did his aids-de-camp, General Adair and Majors Barry and Crittenden. The military skill of the former was of great service to us, and the activity of the two latter gentlemen could not be surpassed. Illness deprived me of the talents of my Adjutant-General, Colonel Gaines, who was left at Sandwich. His duties were, however, ably performed by the acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Butler. My aids-de-camp, Lieutenant O'Fallon and Captain Todd, of the line, and my volunteer aids, John Speed Smith and John Chambers, Esq., have rendered me the most important service from the opening of the campaign. I have already stated that General Cass and Commodore Perry assisted me in forming the troops for action. The former is an officer of the highest merit, and the appearance of the brave Commodore cheered and animated every breast.

"It would be useless, sir, after stating the circumstances of the action, to pass encomiums upon Colonel Johnson and his regiment. Veterans could not have manifested more firmness. The Colonel's numerous wounds prove that he was in the post of danger. Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, and the Majors Payne and Thompson, were equally active, though more fortunate. Major Wood, of the engineers, already distinguished by his conduct at Fort Meigs, attended the army with two six pounders. Having no use for them in the action, he joined in the pursuit of the enemy; and with Major Payne of the mounted regiment, two of my aids-de-camp, Todd and Chambers, and three privates, continued it for several miles after the rest of the troops had halted, and made many prisoners.

"I left the army before an official return of the prisoners, or that of the killed and wounded, was made out. It was, however, ascertained that the former amounts to six hundred



and one regulars, including twenty-five officers. Our loss is seven killed and twenty-two wounded, five of which have since died. Of the British troops twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The Indians suffered most—thirty-three of them having been found upon the ground, besides those killed on the retreat.

“On the day of the action six pieces of brass artillery were taken, and two iron twenty-four pounders the day before. Several others were discovered in the river, and can be easily procured. Of the brass pieces, three are the trophies of our Revolutionary War that were taken at Saratoga and York, and surrendered by General Hull. The number of small arms taken by us and destroyed by the enemy must amount to upwards of five thousand; most of them had been ours, and taken by the enemy at the surrender of Detroit, at the River Raisin, and Colonel Dudley's defeat. I believe that the enemy retain no other military trophy of their victories than the standard of the 4th Regiment. They were not magnanimous enough to bring that of the 41st Regiment into the field, or it would have been taken.

“You have been informed, sir, of the conduct of the troops under my command in action; it gives me great pleasure to inform you that they merit also the approbation of their country for their conduct in submitting to the greatest privations with the utmost cheerfulness. The infantry were entirely without tents, and for several days the whole army subsisted upon fresh beef without bread or salt. I have the honor to be, etc.,

“WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

“General JOHN ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.

“P. S.—General Proctor escaped by the fleetness of his horses, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of mounted Indians.”

Colonel Charles S. Todd in writing of this engagement says:—

“In the midst of these arrangements, and just as the order was about to be given to the front line to advance, at the head of which General Harrison had placed him-

self with his staff, Major Wood approached him with the intelligence that having reconnoitered the enemy he had ascertained the remarkable fact that the British lines, instead of the usual close order, had been drawn up at *open order*. This departure from ordinary military principles in the formation of the British troops, at once induced General Harrison to adopt the novel expedient of charging the British lines with Johnson's mounted troops. This determination was communicated to Colonel Johnson, who was directed to draw up his regiment 'in close column, with its right fifty yards from the road (that it might be, in some measure, protected by the trees from the artillery), its left upon the swamp, and to charge full speed upon the enemy.'

"At this juncture, General Harrison, with his aids-de-camp, attended by General Cass and Commodore Perry, advanced from the right of the front line of infantry, to the right of the front of the column of mounted troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson and Major Duval Payne. General Harrison personally gave the directions for the charge to be made when the right battalion of the mounted men received the fire of the British; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over. The British officers seeing no prospect of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and seeing the advance of infantry and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered.

"The result of this charge decided the fate of the day, It uncovered the Indian left, and necessarily compelled a retreat, although the battle continued to rage severely to the left along the Indian line. Colonel Richard M. Johnson, by the extension of his line, had come in contact with the Indians, who had made some impression upon him and

the left of Trotter's brigade. As soon as the charge upon the right had taken effect, General Harrison dispatched an order to Governor Shelby to bring up Simrall's regiment to re-enforce the point pressed by the Indians, and then the General passed to the left to superintend the operations in that quarter. The Governor, however, had anticipated the wishes of the General, and bringing up Simrall's regiment, met the General near the crotchet, and soon after the battle ceased. The commanding General then directed a portion of the right battalion, under Major Payne, to pursue General Proctor, who had fled under the escort of a troop of dragoons and some mounted Indians. The pursuit was so hot for six miles beyond the Moravian town that the British General was compelled to abandon his sword, papers, and carriage, which, with sixty-three prisoners, several Indians killed, and an immense amount of stores, was the result of this daring enterprise by seven officers and three privates, who alone continued the pursuit after the first few miles.

"Our loss in this decisive battle was from seventeen to twenty killed, and thirty to forty wounded. The British loss was six hundred and forty-five, of which eighteen were killed and twenty-six wounded; and the Indians left on the ground and in the pursuit between fifty and sixty killed, and, estimating the usual proportion of wounded, their total loss must have been near two hundred. Among our gallant dead were Colonel Whitley and Lieutenant Logan. Colonel R. M. Johnson and Captains J. Davidson and Short were severely wounded. Tecumthe, a brigadier-general in the British service, and the formidable chief of the Indian confederacy, fell in this memorable battle, by which an important territory was restored to the United States, the uppermost Canada was conquered, and the blessings of peace extended to the frontier settlements in the Northwest.

"From a review of the arrangements and incidents in

this battle, it will be seen that the plan of refusing the left wing was attended with the happiest consequences. The force of the enemy consisted principally of Indians in position, with the right of their line thrown forward obtusely from the point where they united with the British; the latter appeared to constitute the weakest wing of the enemy; and therefore General Harrison exhibited military genius in so arranging his troops as to suspend or avoid a conflict with the Indians, and concentrate his strength against the British line. The severe loss inflicted by the Indians on Colonel Johnson's left, and the small part of the infantry with which they came in contact, abundantly shows what would have been the loss of life, if the left wing had advanced upon the Indian line."

The opposing forces in this engagement were nearly equal, although General Harrison's estimate of his own troops was supposed to be too high, as there were not over twenty-seven hundred; and the British force was composed of eight or nine hundred white regulars and between fifteen hundred and two thousand Indians under Brigadier-General Tecumseh, the whole commanded by Henry Proctor. Yet from two or three points of view the British had the decided advantage of the Americans before the beginning of this battle. They had chosen a position which greatly favored their success. Their regular force was at least seven times greater than that of General Harrison. The Indian force remaining with them was composed of men who had resolved to make one more desperate effort for success on the side they had embraced, and refusing to retreat farther it might appear that they would be equal to the same



number of militia, even though most of those were Kentuckians. At least Proctor's experience with the Indians was such as to give him confidence in their ability at that time to cope with militia. No white man ever knew so well as an Indian how to fight quickly and run away. And as a rule the Indian never could be relied upon in a regular contest. Proctor was not a general, and in opening his lines of regulars, placing the men three or four feet apart, he made the great mistake of providing a way for the charge of mounted riflemen. He had seen Harrison open the lines of Clay's troops approaching Fort Meigs to prevent the effect of his shots, and here adopted the same bright expedient which simply prepared a passage for Johnson's horsemen.

The results of this campaign were very important, and turned the whole country into rejoicing. Many of the larger towns and cities were illuminated; Harrison and Perry were the heroes; resolutions, votes of thanks, and other honors were the order of the day. Langdon Cheves, in a speech in Congress at this time, said:—

“The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph! He put an end to the war in the uppermost Canada.”

And Simon Snyder, the energetic War-Governor of Pennsylvania, in a message to the Legislature, wrote:—

“Already is the brow of the young warrior, Croghan, encircled with laurels, and the blessings of thousands of



women and children, rescued from the scalping-knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and from the still more savage Proctor, rest on Harrison and his gallant army."

In his quarters at Detroit on the 17th of October, Harrison wrote an airy, vigorous, little letter to his friend and helper, Return Jonathan Meigs, telling him of his success, the extraordinary conduct of Proctor, of his preparations to retake Mackinaw, and of other matters, and inclosed to the Governor a speech made by Tecumseh to Proctor.

The following is the speech to which reference is made in this letter, and which was delivered to Proctor as the representative of King George by Brigadier-General Tecumseh in behalf of all the Indian warriors, just before leaving Malden:—

"FATHER,—Listen to your children; you have them all before you. The war before this our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war, our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge; and we are afraid that our father will do so again at this time.

"Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry, that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

"Listen! When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk, and told us that he was then ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get us our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us.

"Listen! You told us, at that time, to bring forward our families to this place, and we did so; and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go and fight the enemy; that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrison; that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

"Listen! When we were last to the Rapids, it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground-hogs.

"Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns, but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm. Our ships have gone one way, and we are made astonished to see our father tying up every thing and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the king, is our head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal, that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, he drops it between his legs and runs off.

"Listen, Father! The Americans have not yet defeated us by land, neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we, therefore, wish to remain here, and fight our enemy, if they should make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

"At the battle of the Rapids last war, the Americans certainly defeated us, and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place the gates were shut against us. We were

afraid that it would now be the case; but instead of that we now see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

“Father! You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go and welcome, for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be his will we wish to leave our bones upon them.

“AMHERSTBURG, September 18, 1813.”

Great dissatisfaction had arisen among the Indian allies of England, and before the American fleet was ready for operations Proctor's constantly fluctuating force had diminished considerably. Only a month before he had taken an army of five thousand over on the Maumee, and after Perry's victory he had probably twice that number to feed at Malden. But many of them now left, and most of the chiefs, and even Tecumseh, had openly proposed making peace with the United States. Tecumseh was, perhaps, now only driven to adhere to England by some of his own followers accusing him of a disposition to desert the cause into which he had led them. Proctor had concealed from Tecumseh the fate of the fleet of the one-armed Captain Barclay; and in this his treachery was suspected, and Tecumseh did not hesitate to say in his speech that they had little ground now to expect better treatment than they had received at the battle of the Fallen Timbers in 1794, before Fort Miami where the gates were shut against them when they had been promised the protection of the fort in case of defeat. In the battle

of the Thames the bravest, if not perhaps the most generous and able foe of the United States in the West fell in the person of Tecumseh. But no more certainly did his death relieve the country of his machinations than did the flight of Proctor forever relieve the Americans of his presence.

The British had scarcely more than evacuated Detroit when the Indians began to come in and sue for peace. General McArthur granted their appeal for a suspension of hostilities to await the action of the Commander-in-Chief. Soon after General Harrison's return the following proclamations were sent forth, Captain Perry, who had accompanied him on the race after Proctor, joining in one of them:—

“BY WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

“MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND COMMAND-  
ING THE EIGHTH MILITARY DISTRICT,

“A Proclamation.

“An armistice having been concluded between the United States and the tribes of Indians called Miamis, Pottawatomies, Eel-river Miamis, Weas, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Wyandots, to continue until the pleasure of the Government of the former shall be known, I do hereby make known the same to all whom it may concern. The armistice is preparatory to a general council, to be held with these different tribes; and, until its termination, they have been permitted to retire to their hunting-grounds, and there to remain unmolested, if they behave themselves peaceably. They have surrendered into our hands hostages from each tribe; and have agreed immediately to restore all our prisoners in their possession, and unite with us in the chastisement of any Indians, who may commit

any aggressions upon our frontiers. Under these circumstances, I exhort all citizens living upon the frontiers to respect the terms of said armistice, and neither to engage in nor countenance any expedition against their persons or property; leaving to the Government, with whom the Constitution has left it, to pursue such course with respect to the Indians as they may think most compatible with sound policy and the best interests of the country.

“Done at Detroit, this 16th October, 1813.

“(Signed,)

WM. H. HARRISON.”

“BY WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

“MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTH-WESTERN ARMY, AND

“OLIVER HAZARD PERRY,

“CAPTAIN IN THE NAVY, AND COMMANDING THE FLEET OF THE UNITED STATES, ON LAKE ERIE,

“**A Proclamation.**

“Whereas, by the combined operations of the land and naval forces under our command, those of the enemy within the upper district of Upper Canada have been captured or destroyed, and the said district is now in the quiet possession of our troops, it becomes necessary to provide for its government:—Therefore, we do hereby proclaim and make known, that the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, and the laws and customs of the country as they existed or were in force at the period of our arrival, shall continue to prevail. All magistrates and other civil officers are to resume the exercise of their functions; previously taking an oath to be faithful to the Government of the United States, as long as they shall be in possession of the country. The authority of all militia commissions is suspended in said district, and the officers required to give their parole, in such way as the officers who may be appointed by the commanding general to administer the government shall direct.



"The inhabitants of said district are promised protection to their persons and property, with the exception of those cases embraced by the proclamation of General *Proctor*, of the — ult., which is declared to be in force, and the powers therein assumed transferred to the officer appointed to administer the government.

"Given under our hands and seals, at Sandwich, this  
17th October, 1813.

"(Signed,)

WM. H. HARRISON,

OLIVER H. PERRY."

Harrison had left the army, prisoners, and booty in charge of Governor Shelby, and with Captain Perry arrived at Detroit on the 8th, with the view of immediately sending an expedition to recapture Mackinaw. The boats sent down to the islands in Lake Erie for the troops were stranded, and Perry deemed it necessary to abandon the undertaking at that season. The Kentuckians were disbanded on reaching Detroit, and the British prisoners sent to Chillicothe, Ohio. Some of them were afterward sent to the penitentiary at Frankfort, Kentucky, with a view of retaliating for cruelty to Americans in the hands of the British. General Cass was left with his brigade at Detroit, and with the other regulars, between fifteen hundred and two thousand, General Harrison and Captain Perry set out for the Niagara to join in operations there.

These two successful and chivalrous soldiers were starting out for new adventures. Wherever Harrison should rear his standard now, the volunteer militia, whose friend and advocate he was, would have flocked. His career had been interesting and brilliant, and deserved the admiration of his countrymen from the

day he landed at Fort Washington to the battle of the River Thames. Especially was his history as Governor of Indiana, superintendent and commissioner of Indian affairs, and commander at Tippecanoe such as to attract the attention and gain the esteem of the men of the West in those adventurous times. His moving now toward the east to aid in furthering the interests of the country which had recently made such strides under his leadership, so far as he then knew, was merely the prompting of his own disposition. It was indeed the desire of the Administration for him to take this very step with his men, but this he never learned, as the messenger from the Secretary of War was drowned on his way to Detroit. But Harrison was really at the end of his military career. There was no more glory for him in that direction, if he desired such a thing. As poorly off as the country was for successful military leaders, this enthusiastic and popular young soldier was destined to be withdrawn from active service. There was little now for him to do in the West. With the fall of Tecumseh the Indian confederacy had crumbled to pieces. Jackson had completely humbled the Indians in the South. Everywhere they were suing for peace. No master-hand was needed in the West to lead them into the path they had lost.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

HARRISON ENDS HIS MILITARY CAREER—HIS SERVICES—  
OPINIONS—COURSE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

ON the 22d of October, Harrison and Perry, in the *Ariel*, reached Erie, where the United States had its navy-yard. Here they were received with great demonstrations of respect as the deliverers of the West. Harrison went from here to Buffalo, and soon afterwards took command of his own and the other troops at Newark and Fort George, then under General George McClure, of the New York militia. He had at Buffalo sent a message to the Secretary of War announcing his arrival. He now received a letter from Armstrong assigning him the task of driving the British from the head of Lake Ontario, and for the first learning that a messenger had been sent to him at Detroit ordering him to move with his available force to the very point he now occupied. Here, as before, he had exactly anticipated the wishes of the Administration. He now again set about gathering volunteers from New York, and equipping his force for a rapid movement on Burlington Heights; and fully believed that he could dispose of the British under General Vincent, as he had done with those of Upper Canada.

One of the very strange and unsatisfactory things in the management of this war now took place. While Harrison was making every exertion to move against the British at Burlington Heights, he received another letter from the Secretary of War, who was on the northern border, asking him to send the regulars under his command to Sackett's Harbor, and further intimating that he could have leave of absence. Although on the point of starting on another expedition which, no doubt, would have been as successful as the former, he had nothing left him but to abandon it, and turn his face toward the West, with the impression that it was the desire of the Secretary of War to get rid of his services. The history of the war had yet been mainly a history of the experiments and failures of incompetent leaders. A successful general had at last been found by actual experience; and when on the point of making another effort to increase the value of his brief campaign, he was stripped of troops, and sent on a visit to his family. The following letters will serve to illustrate this point:—

“FORT GEORGE, November 15, 1813.

“DEAR SIR,—The subject of our conversation this morning has occupied my most serious reflections. The deadly blow heretofore given to the patriotism of our citizens on this frontier has prepared them for murmurs and complaints. Those who are now on their march have left their homes and their business under great sacrifices with the moral certainty of being brought into action. The last address, which I issued under your directions, and which I am happy to find has met your approbation, gives

them reasons for indulging the expectation of service, and they are anxious to drive the enemy from their borders forever. The high character of General Harrison, combined with these circumstances, has excited strong interest in the public mind relative to our operations.

"In this peculiar situation of affairs I feel it to be due to the gallant volunteers and militia, who are assembled and collecting, and to my own reputation, most respectfully to solicit that, if it is not incompatible with your instructions and your better judgment, you will not abandon our projected expedition against Burlington Heights. Such is the anxious wish of the militia, and I have no doubt the soldiers under your command are equally, if not more, desirous of the employment.

"My anxiety on the subject I trust will excuse the appearance of any disrespect in making this communication, which certainly is far from my feelings. My confidence in the valor, ability, and prudence of General Harrison will dispose me most cheerfully to submit to any arrangement he may be bound to make, however great may be my disappointment in their result.

"I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, your obedient servant,

GEORGE MCCLURE.

"Major-General HARRISON."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, NEWARK, November 15, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter to me of this morning has been received. I feel most severely the weight of the reasons which you urge for the prosecution of the intended expedition to Burlington. The disappointment, however, to the brave and patriotic men, who have turned out under the expectation of serving their country effectually in the field at this inclement season, is the most painful circumstance attending it, as I am well convinced, from the information received this morning and last evening, that the enemy are removing as fast as possible from



the head of the lake to Kingston, which has been left with a very small part of the force that was lately there; and it is more than probable that, should we advance in force, the enemy, having but now — effective men at Burlington, would destroy the stores which they have remaining there, and retreat too rapidly to be overtaken. There are considerations, however, which would make it extremely desirable to make an exhibition of force in that quarter, but the orders I have received from the Secretary of War leaves me no alternative. Commodore Chauncey is extremely pressing that the troops should immediately embark, declaring that the navigation at this season to small vessels is very dangerous. The force at Sackett's Harbor is —. The troops at York are all hastening down to Kingston. Sackett's Harbor may be enlarged by even a delay of a few days; and should the troops that are here not get down before the lake is frozen, our fleet may be destroyed for the want of their aid. I can not, therefore, take upon myself the responsibility of delaying their going down even a day. Will you be so good, at a proper time, as to explain the above circumstances to the patriots who left their homes with the intention of assisting me to drive the enemy far from our borders; and assure them that I shall ever recollect, with the warmest gratitude, the partiality they have been pleased to express for me, and their preference of serving under my command.

"I will direct payment to be made to the volunteers for rations and forage in coming out.

"Accept my best wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me sincerely your friend,

"WM. HENRY HARRISON."

"General McCLEURE."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, NEWARK, November 15, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,—Being ordered to return to the westward, you will be pleased to resume the command which you received previously to my arrival at this place. The

orders which you heretofore have received will govern you. It will be necessary that you keep a vigilant eye over the disaffected part of the inhabitants; and I recommend that you make use of the zeal, activity, and local knowledge which Colonel Willcox certainly possesses to counteract the machinations of our enemy, and insure the confidence of our friends amongst the inhabitants. It will, however, I am persuaded, be your wish, as it is your duty, to guard the latter, as much as possible, from oppression.

“The volunteers which were lately called out will be retained as long as you consider their services necessary; the drafted militia until further orders are received from the Secretary of War.

“There can be little doubt of its being the intention of the enemy to send the greater part of the troops which they have at Burlington and York to Kingston, and to make York the right of their line. They may, however, have a small command at Burlington, and those may be so securely posted as to render them safe from any desultory expedition you may set on foot; but it is desirable to have any supplies which they may have collected at —, or in the neighborhood, destroyed; and should the success below be not such as to promise possession of the whole of the Upper Province, — may be destroyed.

“Captains Leonard and Reed, or either of them, are appointed to muster your troops when and where you think proper.

“In closing this communication, I should not do justice to my feelings if I were not to acknowledge the zeal and talents with which you have managed your command. Your conduct appears to me to have been extremely judicious and proper throughout; and your troops exhibit a state of improvement and subordination which is at once honorable to your officers and themselves.

"I am, very sincerely, your friend and obedient servant,  
(Signed,) WM. HENRY HARRISON.

"Brigadier-General GEORGE McCLURE."

"FORT GEORGE, November 16, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I can not suffer you to depart from this post without expressing to you the great satisfaction I have received from our intercourse, and my extreme regret that its continuance has been so short. You carry with you, sir, the highest esteem and the warmest admiration of every officer and soldier under my command who has had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with you.

"Your recommendations will meet with every attention and respect in my power, and I shall only regret that you are not here yourself to execute them.

"For the terms of approbation you have been pleased to use in speaking of my conduct, I can tender you only my thanks.

"With the warmest wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of your officers with whom I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance, I remain, with the utmost respect, your friend and servant,

"(Signed,)

GEORGE McCLURE.

"Major-General WILLIAM H. HARRISON."

General Harrison then returned to Cincinnati by way of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington City, and Pittsburgh, and by a general order resumed command of the Eighth Military District. On this long journey homeward he had received unusual attentions from the people, in the more or less foolish way still in vogue, of parades, shouts, dinners, and speeches. At one of these receptions in Phila-

delphia, the General offered the following characteristic "toast:"—

"GENTLEMEN,—Permit me to offer you a volunteer toast and very briefly to state the motive which prompts me to take one of the regular toasts of the day as a mean of communicating my opinion. Believing, as I do, that a sentiment is gaining ground unfriendly to republicanism and injurious to the Nation, and knowing from my own experience, that the sentiment is not well founded, I will give you

"The Militia of the United States—They possess the Roman spirit, and when our Government shall think proper to give them that organization and discipline of which they *are* susceptible, they will perform deeds that will emulate those of the legions led by Marcellus and Scipio."

His attachment to the militia was genuine, as was his common sympathy and respect for the masses of the people. But at this very time if Harrison received gratification, as he evidently did, from the attentions of the people, it was not unmixed, and he was not allowed to glide smoothly on without being constantly reminded of the presence of envy's sting and the misrepresentations of fault-finders. The command of the Eighth District, as General Harrison's command was now called, had little in it to satisfy a young and ambitious man, who thought, with his friends, that he ought to have a more active field assigned him. Harrison, like Jackson, was a stickler for the "rights" of his station, and the Secretary of War was a man who had not exact scruples on this point; at least if he had, he subordinated

them to what he deemed the shortest road to the advantage of the public service. Harrison's command had in it few soldiers, and few duties, and these Armstrong seemed disposed to handle without consulting him at all times. The fact is, Armstrong meant to leave Harrison out of his calculations for the next campaign. He had no personal acquaintance with General Harrison, and originally based his want of respect for him upon his irregular military origin, as has been intimated. Then Harrison's objections to his plans, his strong representations to the Department, and way of moving to carry them out, and his adherence to the militia, as he had been accustomed to do under Dr. Eustis, were not to Armstrong's taste, and went far toward confirming him in his undefined opposition, or at least indifference, to Harrison's merits. There was a growing disposition on the part of the people, the militia, and many officers of various grades, and many civil officers of the country, to see Harrison at the head of the army. This no doubt added to General Armstrong's feeling against him.

Duncan McArthur, who was serving on Hull's court-martial at Albany in the winter of 1813, wrote to Harrison: "You, sir, stand the highest with the militia of this State of *any* general in the service, and I am confident that no man can fight them to so great an advantage; and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this frontier."

And Perry, whose employments were not less active than his, wrote at this time to him: "You



know what has been my opinion as to the future commander-in-chief of the army. I pride myself not a little, I assure you, on seeing my predictions so near being verified; yes, my dear friend, I expect to hail you as the chief who is to redeem the honor of our arms in the North."

The expectation, in the West at least, was general that Harrison would have an important command in the campaign of 1814. But this expectation was not sustained. Harrison soon saw that General Armstrong did not mean to comply in his case with the well-known rules of military courtesy, as was especially seen in his taking General Howard out of his command, and his assuming the direction of affairs under the fiery George Croghan in command at Detroit. The following letters will show the tendency of things at this point, and that it was not designed for Harrison to make much figure in the coming campaign:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS, CINCINNATI, February 13, 1814.

"SIR,—By the last mail I received a communication from the Adjutant-General, Colonel Walback, inclosing your order to Brigadier-General Howard, of the 29th ult.

"I think, sir, I have some right to complain of that order, both as to its matter and manner. However important I might have deemed the services of General Howard upon the frontiers, an order from you directing me to permit him to remain in Kentucky, would have been instantly obeyed; although it appears to me that it would have been more consonant to those rules of military etiquette which are so necessary for the support of subordination, that the question of his remaining or not should be left to my decision.

"Apart from considerations of duty to my country, I have no earthly inducement to remain in the army, and if the prerogatives of my rank and situation as the commander of a district be taken from me, being fully convinced that I can render no important service, I should much rather be permitted to retire to private life.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

"(Signed,)                      WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

"WAR DEPARTMENT, May 14, 1814.

"SIR,—The inclosed copy of a letter to the President will sufficiently indicate the plan of campaign for the ensuing summer. Orders have been given by the Secretary of the Navy in conformity thereto, with the exception that two armed vessels and a detachment of infantry will prosecute the expedition against Mackinaw.

"It will be for you to direct the number of men to be retained as garrisons for Detroit and Malden; the residue will be held ready for the movement down the lake to Buffalo, whither will be taken also all that can be moved of the 17th, 19th, 24th, and 28th Regiments of infantry. Brigadier McArthur, now relieved from court-martial services, may be designated for the command of these corps.

"The Adjutant-General will transmit to you the new arrangement of the 17th and 19th Regiments. Accept, sir, the assurance of my great respect. I have, etc.,

"(Signed,)                      J. ARMSTRONG.

"P. S.—The President not having yet determined whether you shall act with or without associates in making the proposed treaty, your commission and instructions for that purpose are unavoidably delayed."

Before receiving this last letter from the Secretary of War, Harrison had forwarded his resignation, and at the same time written to notify the President of his action. The immediate incentive to this step

was the receipt from Colonel Croghan of the order of the Secretary choosing Major A. H. Holmes to lead the expedition for the reduction of Mackinaw. The following letters will be of interest at this time:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, CINCINNATI, May 11, 1814.

“DEAR SIR,—I have this day forwarded to the Secretary of War my resignation of the commission I hold in the army.

“This measure has not been determined on without a reference to all the reasons which should influence a citizen who is sincerely attached to the honor and interests of his country; who believes that the war in which we are engaged is just and necessary; and that the crisis requires the sacrifice of every private consideration which could stand in opposition to the public good. But after giving the subject the most mature consideration I am perfectly convinced that my retiring from the army is as compatible with the claims of patriotism as it is with those of my family and a proper regard for my own feelings and honor.

“I have no other motives in writing this letter than to assure you that my resignation was not produced by any diminution of the interest I have always taken in the success of your Administration, or of respect and attachment for your person. The former can only take place when I forget the republican principles in which I have been educated; and the latter when I shall cease to regard those feelings which must actuate every honest man who is conscious of favors that it is out of his power to repay. Allow me, etc.,

HARRISON.

“JAMES MADISON, Esq., President United States.”

“FRANKFORT, May 15, 1814.

“DEAR SIR,—The interest I feel for the prosperity of our beloved country at all times, but especially in the

common cause in which she is at present engaged, will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient apology for addressing you this letter. The motives which impel me arise from considerations of public good, and are unknown to the gentleman who is the subject of this letter.

“It is not my intention to eulogize General Harrison; he is not in need of that aid; his merits are too conspicuous not to be observed; but it is my intention to express to you with candor my opinion of the General founded on personal observation.

“A rumor has reached this State, which, from the public prints, appears to be believed, that the commanding general of the northern army may be removed from that command. This circumstance has induced me to reflect on the subject, and to give a decided preference to Major-General Harrison as a successor. Having served a campaign with General Harrison, by which I have been enabled to form some opinion of his military talents, and capacity to command, I feel no hesitation to declare to you that I believe him to be one of the first military characters I ever knew; and, in addition to this, he is capable of making greater personal exertions than any officer with whom I have ever served. I doubt not but it will hereafter be found that the command of the Northwestern army, and the various duties attached to it, has been one of the most arduous and difficult tasks ever assigned to any officer in the United States; yet he surmounted all.

“Impressed with the conviction that General Harrison is fully adequate to the command of the Northern army, should a change take place in that division, I have ventured thus freely to state my opinion of him, that he is a consummate general, and would fill that station with ability and honor; and that if, on the other hand, any arrangement should take place in the War Department which may produce the resignation of General Harrison

it will be a misfortune which our country will have cause to lament. His appointment to the command of the Northern army would be highly gratifying to the wishes of the Western people, except some who may, perhaps, be governed by sinister views.

"I confess the first impressions upon my mind, when informed of the defeat of Colonel Dudley's regiment, on the 5th of May last, were unfavorable to General Harrison's plans; but on correct information, and a knowledge of his whole plans, I have no doubt but they were well concerted, and might, with certainty, have been executed, had his orders been strictly obeyed. I mention this subject because Mr. H. Clay informed me that he had shown you my letter stating the impressions which that affair had first made upon my mind on information that was not correct.

"Hoping that my opinion of this meritorious officer will not be unacceptable to you, I have candidly expressed it, and hoping the apology stated in the preceding part of this letter will justify the liberty taken of intruding opinions unsolicited, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant, ISAAC SHELBY.

"His Excellency, JAMES MADISON, President United States."

Both of these letters reached the unwarlike, but just and wise, President too late. He was then on a visit to his home in Virginia; and when Harrison's resignation was received at the War Department, another, one that never could be put down, was knocking for a major-generalship, Andrew Jackson. The Secretary took upon himself gladly the authority of accepting the resignation, and giving the commission at once to General Jackson, and Duncan McArthur took Harrison's place in command of the Eighth District.



Thus ended Harrison's military career, but not quietly by any means. In most cases the dissatisfaction with Harrison came from those who would not be satisfied with him, no matter what the case was. His course before the battle of the Thames had been a source of controversy from that day, and continued to be until his election to the Presidency. At Sandwich, on the 1st of October, 1813, he called a council of officers to decide upon the route to be taken in the pursuit of the enemy, having found that there were two, and wishing to be free from censure in case the right one were not taken. On the strength of this cautious and just act towards his officers it was soon afterwards circulated that he favored abandoning the pursuit. The following letters, no doubt, put this charge in its true light:—

“FRANKFORT, April 21, 1816.

“DEAR GENERAL,—Your letter of the 15th instant has been duly received, in which you stated that a charge has been made against you, ‘that you were forced to pursue Proctor from my remonstrances,’ and that I had said to you upon that occasion, ‘that it was immaterial what direction you took, that I was resolved to pursue the enemy up the Thames;’ and you request me to give you a statement of facts in relation to the council of war held at Sandwich.

“I will, in the first place, freely declare that no such language ever passed from me to you, and that I entertained throughout the campaign too high an opinion of your military talents to doubt for a moment your capacity to conduct the army to the best advantage. It is well recollected that the army arrived at Sandwich in the afternoon of the 29th of September, and that the next day was

extremely wet. I was at your quarters in the evening of that day; we had a conversation relative to the pursuit of the enemy, and you requested me to see you early the next morning. I waited on you just after daybreak—found you up, apparently waiting for me. You led me into a small private room, and on the way observed, ‘We must not be heard.’ You were as anxious to pursue Proctor as I was, but might not have been entirely satisfied as to the route. You observed that there were two ways by which he might be overtaken: one was down the Lake by water, to some post or point, of the name of which I am now not positive; thence to march across by land twelve miles to the road leading up the Thames, and intercept him. The other way by land up the strait, and up the Thames. I felt satisfied, by a pursuit on land, that he could be overhauled, and expressed that opinion, with the reasons on which it was founded, and we readily agreed in sentiment; but you observed, as there were two routes by which he might be overtaken, to determine the one most proper was a measure of great responsibility, that you would take the opinion of the general officers as to the most practicable one, and you requested me to collect them in one hour at your quarters. I assembled them accordingly, to whom you stated your determination to pursue Proctor, and your object in calling them together; and after explaining the two routes by which he might be overtaken, you observed, ‘that the Governor thinks, and so do I, that the pursuit by land up the Thames, will be most effectual.’ The general officers were in favor of a pursuit by land; and in the course of that day, Colonel Johnson, with his mounted regiment, was able to cross over from the Detroit side to join in the chase. He might, however, have been ordered the day before, during the rain, to cross over with his regiment; but of this I have not a distinct recollection. The army I know was on its march by sunrise on the morning of the 2d of October, and continued the pursuit

(often in a run), until the evening of the 5th, when the enemy was overtaken. During the whole of this long and arduous pursuit, no man could make greater exertions, or use more vigilance than you did to overtake Proctor, whilst the skill and promptitude with which you arranged the troops for battle, and the distinguished zeal and bravery you evinced during its continuance, merited and received my highest approbation.

“In short, sir, from the time I joined you to the moment of our separation, I believe that no commander ever did or could make greater exertions than you did to effect the great objects of the campaign. I admired your plans, and thought them executed with great energy; particularly your order of battle, and arrangements for landing on the Canada shore, were calculated to inspire every officer and man with a confidence that we could not be defeated by any thing like our own number.

“Until after I had served the campaign of 1813, I was not aware of the difficulties which you had to encounter as commander of the North-western army. I have since often said, and still do believe, that the duties assigned to you on that occasion were more arduous and difficult to accomplish than any I had ever known confided to any commander; and with respect to the zeal and fidelity with which you executed that high and important trust, there are thousands in Kentucky, as well as myself, who believed it could not have been committed to better hands.

“With sentiments of the most sincere regard and esteem, I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

ISAAC SHELBY.

“Major-General WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.”

“NEWPORT, August 18, 1817.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 11th ult., in which you request me to reply to the following questions, viz.: First. ‘Whether the statements made

by Governor Shelby in his letter to you of the 21st of April, 1816, be substantially correct?" to which I reply in the affirmative. Secondly. 'Whether you did ever, either in the council held at Sandwich, or in private conversation with me, evince anything like an indisposition to pursue the British army by one of the two routes which were under consideration?'—to which I answer in the negative. In a conversation which I held with you the morning prior to the assembling of the general council at Sandwich, you appeared particularly desirous of attempting to cut off the retreat of the British army by the route from Port Talbot. To your arguments in favor of this measure, I opposed our limited means of transportation, and the great difficulty and uncertainty of the lake navigation at this season of the year. These obstacles appeared to induce you to have recourse to the measure which was afterwards adopted.

"Although I have little or no pretensions to military knowledge as relates to an army, still I may be allowed to bear testimony to your zeal and activity in the pursuit of the British army under General Proctor, and to say, the prompt change made by you in the order of battle, on discovering the position of the enemy, always has appeared to me to have evinced a high degree of military talent. I concur most sincerely with the venerable Governor Shelby, in his general approbation of your conduct (as far as it came under my observation) in that campaign.

"With great regard, I am, my dear sir, your friend,

"O. H. PERRY."

"Major-General W. H. HARRISON."

But this was not all that was brought against him on account of the battle of the Thames. To all reasonable appearances, and by all that was really known on the subject, it seemed that after this his laurels, if such a term were admissible, were safe as to that

engagement, the crowning event in his military career. But such was not the case. It was now hinted that he had no great hand in planning the battle, or fighting it; and in the political campaign of 1840, in which his victory was even more signal than at the Thames, it was actually charged back upon him that R. M. Johnson planned the battle and executed the plan, and that Harrison was not in it at all. With the following letter, selected from among several to the same purport, from an officer who served in that battle, the reader must settle this ridiculous and unworthy charge, as the question may as well be disposed of here, although it was drawn out in 1840, when even a truth, if detrimental to General Harrison, and told by a partisan opponent, could gain few supporters:—

“CINCINNATI, 29th February, 1840.

“DEAR SIR,—Your letter, of the 17th inst., was forwarded, under cover, to Major Chambers, at Washington, Kentucky, and sent by him to my residence after I left home, which must be my apology for the delay of this answer. I can state that you have been correctly informed that ‘I was in the battle of the Thames, and near the person of General Harrison from the commencement to the termination of the engagement, and that I personally know what part General Harrison took in it.’ I was a captain in the army of the United States, and had the honor to act as a regular aid-de-camp to General Harrison during the active operations of the campaign after the capture of the British fleet, and was by his side in the battle of the Thames, with the exception of the time when, after the capture of the British troops, he directed me to proceed to Governor Shelby, and order him to bring up Simrall’s regiment and re-enforce that portion



of Johnson's regiment and the left of Trotter's brigade, which was pressed by the Indian force. You say 'it has been openly avowed on the floor of the House of Representatives of Ohio, now in session, by members in their places, that General Harrison was at no time in the battle, nor within two miles of the battle-ground; that the entire plan of operations was projected by Colonel R. M. Johnson; that he led the troops to conquest, and that General Harrison had no part or lot in the matter.' From my personal knowledge of the plan and events of that battle, I have no hesitation in stating that these declarations in relation to General Harrison's position and conduct in that battle are destitute of any foundation in truth. General Harrison has correctly stated, in his report to the War Department, the position he occupied just before the commencement of the action; and he might have added that he in person gave the word of command to the mounted regiment to 'charge,' he having with his aids-de-camp passed from the right of the front line of infantry to the right of the front of the mounted column, and not only ordered the charge to be made by pronouncing the word, but called upon his aids to repeat and pass the word along the line. I was close by his side, and he was so near the enemy that their fire cut down the leaves and twigs of the trees just above our heads. As soon as the British troops had surrendered, and after I had been sent to Governor Shelby with the order already adverted to, General Harrison passed to the point where the Indians were annoying the left, and personally directed the operations in that quarter to the close of the action. I met Governor Shelby bringing up Simrall's regiment, he having anticipated the General's wishes as to that movement. In this way Governor Shelby and General Harrison, with his aids, met at the point where the Indians had made their most desperate effort, and from which they soon after retreated. The first arrangement for the battle,

as well as the subsequent change, which was predicated upon the important information obtained by the military eye of Colonel Wood, was planned alone by General Harrison. The execution of this subsequent plan was confided to the regiment commanded by Colonel R. M. Johnson, who led in person the 2d Battalion, aided by Major Thompson, which, in its extension to the left, brought some portion of it in contact with the Indian line. The 1st Battalion was led by Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson, aided by Major Payne. This battalion, to the right of the front of which General Harrison and his staff advanced, and where he personally gave the word 'charge,' captured the British line, and, having thus turned the Indian left, decided the fate of the day. You are at liberty to make such use of this letter as you may think proper. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"C. S. TODD.

"MOSES B. CORWINE, House of Representatives, Columbus, Ohio."

Some very erroneous stories had been circulated as to the enormous expenses of the army under General Harrison. One of these was that every barrel of flour for the expedition to Canada cost the country fifty dollars. The "National Intelligencer" called upon the purchasing commissioner for the facts with the following result:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, November 6, 1813.

"GENTLEMEN,—In answer to your inquiries relative to the cost of flour for the Western army, I am able to give you the most correct information.

"I was appointed deputy commissary of purchases in the service of the United States in September, 1812, and since that time have been constantly employed at the head of the purchasing department for the army under General Harrison, until after the defeat of the whole British and

Indian forces under General Proctor in Upper Canada. The cost of flour for the North-western army has varied at different seasons and at different posts. The average prices have been as follows, viz.: At Cincinnati, on the Ohio, \$6 per barrel; at Piqua, \$8; at St. Mary's, \$10.50; at Amanda, \$11; at Fort Defiance and Fort Wayne, \$14; and at Fort Meigs, on the Miami, the most remote post, the highest price at which flour has been supplied, including all incidental expenses, has not exceeded \$15 per barrel.

"I take the liberty to state, for your further information, that, at the last-mentioned post, the average cost to the United States of beef and pork has been \$5 per hundred; at the other posts mentioned the meat part of the ration has cost from \$3.50 to \$4.50 per hundred.

"Very respectfully, I have the honor to be, sirs, your obedient servant,

JOHN H. PIATT,

"Deputy Commissioner of Purchases in the service of the United States, attached to the North-western army."

"MESSRS. GALES & SEATON."

## CHAPTER XIX.

HARRISON AND WINCHESTER—CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—THE STATE SENATE—A GOLD MEDAL—  
A RABID OFFICE-HUNTER.

**A**MONG the enemies of General Harrison at this time was the unfortunate General James Winchester. The way things are too commonly seen, fancied, or computed on this earth, General Winchester had some ground for at least no great degree of cordiality toward Harrison. Then his misfortune put him to hunting palliations. There was no one who could be made to shoulder any of his own ills except the commander-in-chief. But his success was, perhaps, better in his own defense than in the attempt to implicate Harrison in his misfortune. Winchester first published his defense with his assault on General Harrison in a pamphlet. This Harrison answered in "The National Intelligencer," of Washington City, in a number of articles, and Winchester supplemented his pamphlet by several letters in the same paper. He first accused Harrison of intriguing for the command of the North-Western army over him, and for the major-generalship in the Kentucky militia. But it was evidently unfair to accuse Harrison of intriguing against him for the command of the North-western army when there was no such army, and

he was only commander of the force designed to relieve Hull, as has been shown, and Harrison's appointment as major-general of Kentucky militia came wholly from the desire of the governor and other leading men of that State to have their troops commanded by him. His former acts and satisfactory conduct while in that State were the cause of his preferment, no doubt; they were not matters of machination or intrigue. He also charged Harrison with inducing the officers under him while at St. Mary's in the fall of 1812 to address President Madison asking the appointment of Harrison to the chief command of the North-western army, about to be formed, or the Eighth Military District. Although Harrison knew this address had been prepared, and although it was no part of his disposition to prevent men expressing their preferences for and attachment to him at any time, General Winchester did not prove this charge, and Harrison denied its truth and did, to the satisfaction of most persons, prove that he had no part in an affair similar to which people have become quite reconciled in these days. Winchester also charged Harrison with having failed to supply and support the "left wing" of the army after the question of command had been fixed, and the district and army named. But this seems to be wholly disproved by the preceding history of this campaign, as well as by the testimony of James Morrison, quartermaster-general of the North-western army, Robert Scott, General Thomas Bodley, and others known to all the transactions of the general-in-chief, and whose



evidence was freely given in his defense. Winchester also attempted to establish the idea, without proof, that Harrison had sanctioned or authorized his movement on Frenchtown, which resulted in the massacre or capture of himself and men. Nothing could have been farther from the fact in the case, unless Harrison's disposition to favor Winchester, to avoid commanding him, to suggest only, and as little as possible, and let him conduct his own actions beyond his general direction, could be taken as sanctioning his march to the River Raisin. It has been shown that Harrison favored his falling back instead of advancing, and knew nothing whatever of it until Winchester was away at Frenchtown. The discussion as given in "The National Intelligencer" does not present either of these generals in a very admirable light so far as temper and manner were concerned. Winchester abused Harrison, and Harrison ridiculed Winchester. At that day especially General Harrison was disposed to light sarcasm, although it never added to his strength or dignity. He accused Winchester of being asleep at an unreasonable distance from his troops, and really believed all the time that his defeat at the Raisin was wholly owing to his carelessness and bad management; and it really did look that way, as most people thought. Winchester's attack upon Harrison was not well founded, was uncalled for, settled no question in his favor, and did nobody any good, having the same ending as all such assaults.

There was one thing in the case between these

two men that will bear repetition which the reader must have observed, and that was that while Winchester was willing to serve under Harrison, the latter was not willing to serve under him, nor does it appear that he would have been willing to serve under him or any other man in the War of 1812. In this respect General Harrison does not, perhaps, appear at his best. He was exceedingly punctilious on matters of position. Almost as much so as General Jackson and other distinguished Democrats.

Harrison expected a commission as major-general in the army early after his appointment to the command of the North-western army, but the Administration being slow about it, he really contemplated resigning. So alarmed were many of his friends, and many who had the welfare of the country at heart, that steps were taken in a public meeting in Cincinnati attended by Jacob Burnet, N. Longworth, R. Fosdick, John S. Gano, George P. Torrence, and others, not only to dissuade him from such a course, but also looking to having the advance made in his position which he desired. In February his appointment was made and confirmed as major-general with James Wilkinson, William Richardson Davie, Wade Hampton, Aaron Ogden, and Morgan Lewis, his name standing second on the list. This was just before General Armstrong took charge of the War Department.

After General Harrison became a member of Congress in 1816 fresh charges were brought against him by a quartermaster in the North-western army

accusing him of interfering in the discharge of the duties of that department for the purpose of turning the misfortunes of the country to his own advantage pecuniarily. Harrison was not the man to rest quiet under such a charge, and he urged the matter to be investigated in Congress; and although greatly against the inclinations of his friends a committee was finally appointed with Colonel R. M. Johnson as its chairman. The following report of the committee is from "Niles' Register:"—

"The Select Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred the letter and documents from the acting Secretary of War, on the subject of General Harrison's letter, ask leave to report that they have investigated the facts involved in this inquiry, by the examination of documents and a great number of most respectable witnesses, personally acquainted with the transactions from which the inquiry originated. And the committee are unanimously of opinion that General Harrison stands above suspicion as to his having had any pecuniary or improper connection with the officers of the commissariat for the supply of the army; that he did not wantonly or improperly interfere with the rights of contractors, and that he was, in his measures, governed by the proper zeal and devotion to the public interests.

"The committee beg leave to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject; and, as the papers refer in part to the conduct and transactions of the contractors of the North-western army, whose accounts are unsettled, and only incidentally involved in this inquiry, that the papers be transmitted to the Department of War."

Some of the contractors for supplying the army were watched unremittingly by the General, and he

had not been sparing in his statements as to their being scamps; and no opportunity was to be lost for appeasing the infernal and savage quality of revenge, still a factor in modern civilization. But these assaults, however little truth there was in them, did Harrison much harm.

A famous general had said, long before his day: "It is the part of a wise man, regardless of the conduct of others, to pursue the steady course of virtue; and, firmly resting in the consciousness of his own integrity, to leave the event to the gods." This was never decidedly a principle of General Harrison. He believed the gods helped those who helped themselves; and out of these ordeals he usually came, unlike most men, the better for having made them. While this case was pending, a resolution was before Congress proposing gold medals and the thanks of that body to Harrison and Governor Isaac Shelby for their conduct at the Thames. Mr. Lacock, of Pennsylvania, on the strength of the various charges against General Harrison, moved that his name be struck out of the resolution, which was done by a majority of two votes. A few weeks after the committee reported, the matter was brought up, and his name again inserted; but it was allowed to lie over until early in the spring of 1818, when the following resolution was passed with one dissenting vote:—

*"Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby, presented to Major-General William Henry Harrison and

Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, and through them to the officers and men under their command, for their gallantry and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces under Major-General Proctor, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the 5th of October, 1813, capturing the British army, with the baggage, camp equipage, and artillery; and that the President of the United States be requested to cause two gold medals to be struck, emblematical of this triumph, and presented to General Harrison and Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky."

In reference to this action of Congress Harrison wrote in one of his letters:—

"A vote of the Senate of the United States has attached to my name a disgrace which I am fully convinced no time or no effort of mine will ever be able to efface. Their censure is indeed negative, but it is not on that account the less severe. Could a vote positively expressing my unworthiness attach to me more obloquy than one which declares that I am the only man of the army which I commanded who did not deserve the thanks of the Nation? Could anything but cowardice or treason justify this excessive rigor? and yet it is not pretended that I am guilty of either. What, then, is my crime, and what the reasons upon which the vote of the Senate was justified? Why, an investigation before the House of Representatives was pending, solicited by myself; and some one or more persons had impressed every member of Congress to whom I was unknown with the belief that I deserved no merit for the success of the campaign, and that I was forced against my inclination to pursue the British army. My respect for the first branch of the Legislature of my country will not permit me to impugn its motives. I am bound to believe that the majority, at least, acted from correct principles; but upon a subject so important



to an individual—upon a vote which was to attach disgrace to his character, which will follow him to his grave, and which will cause the blush to rise upon the cheek of his children—should they not have paused?”

After resigning his position in the army Harrison returned to his home at North Bend, below Cincinnati. During the summer of 1814 he was appointed by the President, with Lewis Cass and Isaac Shelby, as a commissioner to meet the Indian chiefs who wanted to take part in the war, at Greenville, and definitely arrange a treaty with them to that effect. The Indians were determined to engage somewhere in the conflict, and the Administration deemed it wise now to adopt this course, although, as a general and avowed policy, it had been looked upon with great disfavor in this country. The “treaty” was satisfactorily concluded by Harrison and Cass, General John Adair, who had been substituted for Governor Shelby, not arriving in time to participate.

Soon after the conclusion of peace in 1815, Harrison was again appointed a commissioner, with General Duncan McArthur and John Graham, to negotiate with the Indians at Detroit as to their lands, which the treaty of Ghent stipulated to be returned to them, as they were before the war began. Nine or ten of the most important tribes were concerned in this treaty. In the fall of 1816 Harrison offered himself as a candidate to fill the place made vacant in his district in Congress by the resignation of John McLean. He was opposed in this contest by five candidates, but was elected by a considerable majority

over all of them. On the 2d day of December, 1816, he took his seat in the House of Representatives, and soon became one of its most active members. He went to Congress with two objects especially in view, and these had been of some moment in his race for the position. They were a more efficient and satisfactory organization of the militia, and a proper provision, as he believed, for the soldiers wounded or otherwise needy from the wars with Great Britain. Harrison was opposed to a standing army, and was an enthusiast as to the militia, as everybody knew. He was chairman of the committee to report on the militia system, and made a speech on the subject. He introduced resolutions looking to a provision for men who had faithfully served in the army, and who were excluded from the pension act by not being wounded, but who were now needy; and also providing for a bounty of one hundred and sixty acres of land to non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had enlisted in 1811 and served through the war, and been honorably discharged, and who were not then entitled to a bounty. During this term of service he mortally offended the Hero of New Orleans by merely excepting to some of his conduct. He was among the advocates of the South American republics at this time, as he always afterwards was. When the investigation of Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War was before the House, Harrison made one of his most able speeches. He sustained General Jackson's motives, extravagantly praised his deeds that he thought worthy, as fearlessly

condemned the parts of his conduct which he thought wrong, and for this, perhaps, Jackson never forgave him.

It was impossible for General Harrison to keep dead Rome out of his speeches, and this is the way in which he spoke on the very commonplace proposition as to whether General Jackson's course was right or wrong:—

“If the highest services could claim indemnity for crime, then might the conqueror of Plataea have been suffered to continue his usurpations until he had erected a throne upon the ruins of Grecian liberty. Sir, it will not be understood that I mean to compare General Jackson with these men. No; I believe that the principles of the patriot are as firmly fixed in his bosom as those of the soldier. But a republican government should make no distinctions between men, and should never relax its maxims of security for any individual, however distinguished. No man should be allowed to say that he could do that with impunity which another could not do. If the Father of his Country were alive, and in the Administration of the Government, and had authorized the taking of the Spanish posts, I would declare my disapprobation as readily as I do now. Nay, more—because the more distinguished the individual, the more salutary the example. No one can tell how soon such an example may be beneficial. General Jackson will be faithful to his country; but I recollect that the virtues and patriotism of Fabius and Scipio were soon followed by the crimes of Marius and the usurpation of Sylla. I am sure, sir, that it is not the intention of any gentleman upon this floor to rob General Jackson of a single ray of glory; much less to wound his feelings, or injure his reputation. And whilst I thank my friend from Mississippi (Mr. Poindexter) in

the name of those who agree with me that General Jackson has done wrong, I must be permitted to decline the use of the address which he has so obligingly prepared for us, and substitute the following, as more consonant to our views and opinions. If the resolutions pass, I would address him thus: 'In the performance of a sacred duty, imposed by their construction of the Constitution, the Representatives of the people have found it necessary to disapprove a single act of your brilliant career; they have done it in the full conviction that the hero who has guarded her rights in the field will bow with reverence to the civil institutions of his country; that he has admitted as his creed that the character of the soldier can never be complete without eternal reference to the character of the citizen. Your country has done for you all that a country can do for the most favored of her sons. The age of deification is past; it was an age of tyranny and barbarism; the adoration of man should be addressed to his Creator alone. You have been feasted in the Prytanes of the cities. Your statue shall be placed in the capitol, and your name be found in the songs of the virgins. Go, gallant chief, and bear with you the gratitude of your country. Go, under the full conviction that, as her glory is identified with yours, she has nothing more dear to her but her laws; nothing more sacred but her Constitution. Even an unintentional error shall be sanctified to her service. It will teach posterity that the Government which could disapprove the conduct of a *Marcellus* will have the fortitude to crush the vices of a *Marius*.'

"These sentiments, sir, lead to results in which all must unite. General Jackson will still live in the hearts of his fellow-citizens, and the Constitution of your country will be immortal."

In the fall of 1819 Harrison was elected to the State Senate, and served out his term. He was

chosen a Presidential elector in 1820; and, like almost everybody, at that period of good feeling and no parties, gave his vote for Monroe and Tompkins, which, however, he would have done, no doubt, in any state of affairs, as he was a Democrat, and in no way alarmed about the "Virginia Dynasty."

While a member of the Legislature at this time one of his acts called for defense. An act was passed almost unanimously by the Lower House providing for hiring to respectable families certain criminals to pay their fines by their service. In the Senate Harrison and eleven others voted for this measure. This act was absurdly distorted by some of his enemies into a disposition on his part to imprison and oppress poor men who were careless and unfortunate enough to get into debt. The following letter from General Harrison to the editor of a paper published at Hamilton, Ohio, disposes of this foolish charge:—

"SIR,—In your paper of the 15th instant, I observed a most violent attack upon eleven other members of the late Senate and myself, for a supposed vote given at the last session for the passage of a law to 'sell debtors in certain cases.' If such had been our conduct I acknowledge that we should not only deserve the censure which the writer has bestowed on us, but the execration of every honest man in society. An act of that kind is not only opposed to the principles of justice and humanity, but would be a palpable violation of the constitution of the State, which every legislator is sworn to support; and sanctioned by a House of Representatives and twelve Senators, it would indicate a state of depravity which would fill



every patriotic bosom with the most alarming anticipations. But the fact is, that no such proposition was ever made in the Legislature or even thought of. The act to which the writer alludes has no more relation to the collection of 'debts' than it has to the discovery of longitude. It was an act for the punishment of offenses against the State, and that part which has so deeply wounded the feelings of your correspondent was passed by the House of Representatives and voted for by the twelve Senators under the impression that it was the most mild and humane mode of dealing with the offenders for whose cases it was intended. It was adopted by the House of Representatives as a part of the general system of criminal law, which was then undergoing a complete revision and amendment. The necessity of this is evinced by the following facts: For several years past, it had become apparent that the penitentiary system was becoming more and more burdensome at every session; a large appropriation was called for to meet the excess of expenditure above the receipts of the establishment. In the commencement of the session of 1820, the deficit amounted to near twenty thousand dollars.

"This growing evil required the immediate interposition of some vigorous legislative measure. Two were recommended as being likely to produce the effect: first, placing the institution under better management; and secondly, lessening the number of convicts who were sentenced for short periods, and whose labor was found of course to be most unproductive. In pursuance of the latter principle, thefts to the amount of fifty dollars, or upwards, were subjected to punishment in the penitentiary, instead of ten dollars which was the former minimum sum. This was easily done. But the great difficulty remained to determine what should be the punishment of those numerous larcenies below the sum of fifty dollars. By some, whipping was proposed, by others punishment by

hard labor in the county jails, and by others it was thought best to make them work on the highways.

“To all these, there appeared insuperable objections. Fine and imprisonment was adopted by the House of Representatives as the only alternative, and as it was well known these vexatious pilferings were generally perpetrated by the most worthless vagabonds in society, it was added that when they could not pay the fines and costs, which are always part of the sentence and punishment, that their services should be sold out to any person who would pay their fine and costs for them. This was the clause which was passed, as I believe, by a unanimous vote of the House, and stricken out in the Senate in opposition of the twelve who have been denominated. A little further trouble in examining the journals would have shown your correspondent that this was considered as a substitute for whipping, which was lost in the Senate, and in the House by a small majority, after being once passed.

“I think, Mr. Editor, I have said enough to show that this obnoxious law would not have applied to ‘unfortunate debtors of sixty-four years,’ but to infamous offenders, who depredate upon the property of their fellow-citizens, and who by the constitution of the State, as well as the principle of existing laws, were subject to involuntary servitude. I must confess I had no very sanguine expectations of beneficial effect from this measure, as it would apply to all convicts who had attained the age of maturity. But I had supposed that a woman or a youth who, convicted of an offense, and remained in jail for the payment of the fine and costs imposed, might with great advantage be transferred to the residence of some decent, virtuous, private family, whose precept and example would gently lead them back to the paths of virtue. I would appeal to the candor of your correspondent to say whether if there were an individual confined under the circumstances I have mentioned, for whose fate he was interested, he would not gladly see him

transferred from the filthy inclosure of a jail, and the still more filthy inhabitants, to the comfortable mansion of some virtuous citizen, whose admonitions would check his vicious propensities, and whose authority over him would be no more than is exercised over thousands of apprentices in our country; and those bound servants which are tolerated in our, as well as in every other, State in the Union. Far from advocating the abominable principles attributed to me by your correspondent, I think that imprisonment for debt, under any circumstances but that where fraud is alleged, is at war with the best principles of our Constitution, and ought to be abolished.

“I am, sir, your humble servant,

“WM. H. HARRISON.

“NORTH BEND, 22d December, 1821.”

In 1822, Harrison was again a candidate for Congress, but was defeated on account of his supposed pro-slavery sentiments. In 1819, when in Congress, he had voted against the abolition restrictions proposed in the act to admit Missouri into the Union; and he was charged with having been in favor of establishing slavery in Indiana; and now as this great question began to arise into more prominence, even his origin in a slave State and amidst slavery was against him. From an address which he published to the people at this time the following extract is taken:—

“Being called suddenly home to attend my sick family, I have but a moment to answer a few of the calumnies which are in circulation concerning me.

“I am accused of being friendly to slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment I have been the ardent friend of human liberty. At the age of eighteen

I became a member of an Abolition Society established at Richmond, Virginia; the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and procure their freedom by every legal means. My venerable friend, Judge Gatch, of Clermont County, was also a member of this society, and has lately given me a certificate that I was one. The obligations which I then came under I have faithfully performed. I have been the means of liberating many slaves, but never placed one in bondage. I deny that my vote in Congress in relation to Missouri and Arkansas is in the least incompatible with these principles. Congress had no more legal or Constitutional right to emancipate the negroes in those sections of Louisiana, without the consent of their owners, than they have to free those of Kentucky. These people were secured in their property by a solemn covenant with France, when the country was purchased from that power. To prohibit the emigration of citizens of the Southern States to the part of the country, the situation and climate of which was peculiarly suited to them, would have been highly unjust, as it had been purchased out of the common fund. Particularly, too, when it is recollected that all the immense territory to the northwest of the Ohio had been ceded by Virginia, and with an unexampled liberality she had herself proposed, by excluding slavery from it, to secure it for the emigration of those States which had no slaves. Was it proper, then, when her reserved territory was in a great measure filled up, to exclude her citizens from every part of the territory purchased out of the common fund? I was the first person to introduce into Congress the proposition that all the country above Missouri (which, having no inhabitants, was free from the objection made to Missouri and Arkansas) should never have slavery admitted into it. I repeat what I have before said, that as our Union was only effected by mutual concession, so only can it be preserved.

“ My vote against the restriction of Missouri in forming



her constitution was not a conclusive one. There would have been time enough, had I continued to be a member, before the question was decided for my constituents to have instructed me; and I should have rejoiced in an opportunity of sacrificing my seat to my principles, if they had instructed me in opposition to my construction of the Constitution. Like many other members from the non-slaveholding States—of whom I mention Shaw, Holmes; Mason, of Massachusetts; Laman, of Connecticut; and Baldwin, of Pennsylvania—I could see nothing in the Constitution, which I had sworn to support, to warrant such an interference with the rights of the States, and which had never before been attempted. And where is the crime in one set of men not being able to interpret the Constitution as other men interpret it? As we had all sworn to support it, the crime would have been in giving it a construction which our consciences would not sanction. And, let me ask, for what good is this question again brought up? It has been settled, as all our family differences have been settled, on the firm basis of mutual compromise. And patriotism, as well as prudence, devoted the effects of that awful discussion to eternal oblivion. Is it not known that from that cause the great fabric of our Union was shaken to its foundation? Is it not known that Missouri would not have submitted to the restriction, and that the other slaveholding States had determined to support her? But for this compromise, the probability is that at this moment we might look upon the opposite shore of Ohio, not for an affectionate sister State, but on an armed and implacable rival. What patriotic man would not join the gallant Eaton in execrating the head and the hand that could devise and execute a scheme productive of a calamity so awful?

“Upon the whole, fellow-citizens, our path is a plain one; it is that marked out as well by humanity as duty. We can not emancipate the slaves of the other States,



without their consent, but by producing a convulsion which would undo us all. For this much-to-be-desired event we must wait the slow but certain progress of those good principles which are everywhere gaining ground, and which assuredly will ultimately prevail."

This address also contained the following statement of principles:—

"I believe that upon the preservation of the Union of the States depends the existence of our civil and religious liberties; and that the cement which binds it together is not a parcel of words written upon paper or parchment, but the brotherly love and regard which the citizens of the several States possess for each other. Destroy this, and the beautiful fabric which was reared and embellished by our ancestors crumbles into ruins. From its disjointed parts no temple of liberty will again be reared. Discord and wars will succeed to peace and harmony; barbarism will again overspread the land; or, what is scarcely better, some kindly tyrant will promulgate the decrees of his will from the seat where a Washington and a Jefferson dispensed the blessings of a free and equal Government. I believe it, therefore, to be the duty of a Representative to conciliate, by every possible means, the members of our great political family; and always to bear in mind that, as the Union was effected only by a spirit of mutual concession and forbearance, so only can it be preserved."

In 1824 the Legislature of Ohio elected him to the United States Senate. He soon after took his seat in that body, and with his colleague, Benjamin Ruggles, voted for the confirmation of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State in the new Cabinet. He took the head of the Military Committee, from which General Jackson had resigned. He devoted his attention

during the time he was in Congress mainly to the duties connected with this committee, and matters growing out of it. He renewed his former efforts as to the establishment of a just and permanent pension system; and advocated the appointment of cadets to West Point from the families of soldiers who had fallen in war. Harrison's political aspirations were very active at this period, although they were, perhaps, not very well defined. The quiet days of James Monroe had suddenly departed, and men's politics now began to be matters of speculation, although the era of personal squabble, of contest between a few men, had not yet given way to party organization. John Randolph of Roanoke, who considered all men his legitimate targets, took occasion at this time to designate Harrison as one of the alien and sedition and black-cockade Federalists of 1798.

To this nonsense Harrison said :—

“That the extraordinary manner in which his name had been brought before the Senate by the Senator from Virginia, probably required some notice from him, though he scarcely knew how to treat such a charge as had been advanced against him seriously. The gentleman had charged him with being a black-cockade Federalist of '98, and with having voted for the standing army and the alien and sedition laws. He had not so fertile a memory as the gentleman from Virginia, nor could he at command call up all the transactions of nearly thirty years ago. He could say, however, that at the time alluded to, he was not a party man in the sense the Senator from Virginia used; he was a delegate of a Territory which was just then rising into importance, and having no vote on the general questions before Congress, it was neither his duty nor the interest

of those whom he represented, to plunge into the turbulent sea of general politics which then agitated the Nation. There were questions of great importance to the Northwestern Territory then before Congress, questions upon the proper settlement of which the future prosperity of that now important portion of the Union greatly depended. Standing as he did, the sole representative of that Territory, his greatest ambition was to prove himself faithful to his trust, by cherishing its interests, and nothing could have been more suicidal or pernicious to those he represented than for him to exasperate either party by becoming a violent partisan, without the power of aiding either party, because he had no vote on any political question. This was his position, and although he had his political principles as firmly fixed as those of the gentleman from Virginia, it was no business of his to strike where he could not be felt, and where the blow must recoil upon himself and those whom he represented. He wore no cockade, black or tri-colored, at that day, and never wore one but when he was in the military service of his country. But he was seriously charged with the heinous offense of associating with *Federal* gentlemen. He plead guilty; he respected the Revolutionary services of President Adams, and had paid him that courtesy which was due to him as a man and as chief magistrate. He also associated with such men as John Marshall and James A. Bayard; was the acknowledgment of such guilt to throw him out of the pale of political salvation?

"On the other hand, he was on intimate terms with Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gallatin, and with the whole Virginia delegation, among whom he had many kinsmen and dear friends. They were his principal associates in Philadelphia, in whose mess he had often met the gentleman who was now his accuser, and with whom he had spent some of the happiest hours of his life. It was true as, the Senator alleged, he had been appointed Governor of the

North-western Territory by John Adams; so had he been by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. He was not in Congress when the standing army was created and the Alien and Sedition laws were passed, and if he had been he could not have voted for them, and would not if he could. It was not in his nature to be a violent or proscriptive partisan, but he had given a firm support to the Republican Administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. He hoped the Senator from Virginia was answered; he was sure the Senate must be wearied with this frivolous and unprofitable squabble."

John Quincy Adams wrote in his Diary during the last year of his Presidency:—

"Mr. Vance, a member from the State of Ohio, came to recommend the appointment of General Harrison as Minister to the Republic of Colombia. This person's thirst for lucrative office is absolutely rabid. Vice-President, Major-General of the army, Minister to Colombia,—for each of these places he has been this very session as hot in pursuit as a hound on the scent of a hare. He is a Bavard of a lively and active, but shallow mind, a political adventurer, not without talents, but self-sufficient, vain, and indiscreet. He has, withal, a faculty for making friends, and is incessantly importuning them for their influence in his favor."

## CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL HARRISON'S SOUTH AMERICAN MISSION—JACKSON'S HAND IN THE CASE—A GOOD FARMER—CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT—CAMPAIGN OF 1836.

MR. ADAMS never had much patience with, or respect for, office-seekers, and perhaps did overestimate the extent of the disease in General Harrison. However, he received the appointment, and sailed from New York on the 10th of November, 1828. On the 5th of February, 1829, he reached Bogota, but did not present his credentials for twenty-two days afterwards. His reception in Colombia was exceedingly favorable, especially with the more decidedly republican partisans of the day, and Mr. Adams could not very well have made a better selection. But so far as all of that was concerned, Andrew Jackson did not have the least care in the world; and, on the 8th of March, Thomas P. Moore, an almost unknown Kentuckian, yet a really suitable and worthy man, was appointed in his stead. The vessel which took out his successor was to bring him back: but the captain left him waiting at Carthagena, and Harrison found his way home at his own expense. It was for a time claimed by the friends and blind palliators of all the acts of General Jackson that he recalled Harrison because of his



meddling in South American politics. But that was utterly foundationless and foolish, as Jackson could not have known, in that pre-telegraphic day and age of slow locomotion, that Harrison had even arrived in South America at the time he recalled him. No, General Harrison's fine, patriotic speech a few years before in Congress, on Jackson's Florida War, was simply at the foundation of the whole transaction. Then, too, this was the beginning of the unfortunate era in national affairs when "to the victor belong the spoils," when politicians were to know their friends and reward them. In fact, Harrison never did meddle in South American politics; and what he did do, write a long and able letter to General Bolivar, was done when he was not in the service of his Government. Mr. Moore arrived in September; on the 26th of that month Harrison took leave, and on the next day his letter to Bolivar was dated. The letter has been greatly admired by many of Harrison's countrymen, and was written with the view of preventing Bolivar taking the fatal step to which he was invited. One of the General's eulogists says of the letter that "no American can read it without emotions of pride."

General Harrison again returned to his farm at North Bend; and there is quite as much evidence of his taking real delight in agricultural pursuits as in war and politics. Harrison took the same view as most other distinguished public men as to the first choice of all earthly pursuits. He was one of the earliest Western farmers who demonstrated by

his conduct that farmers should be, needed to be, intelligent men. He engaged quite extensively in sheep-raising, and was an authority in his neighborhood in that line. With a view of recovering his fortunes, greatly impaired by his liberality during the war and at other times, and the loss of property by circumstances which he could not control, he built a distillery at the Bend about this period, and for some time converted his corn into whisky, but this business he conscientiously abandoned. In an address before the Hamilton County Agricultural Society, in the summer of 1831, he referred to this sin in his life in these words:—

“The encouragement of agriculture, gentlemen, would be praiseworthy in any country; in our own it is peculiarly so. Not only to multiply the means and enjoyment of life, but as giving greater stability and security to our political institutions. In all ages and in all countries it has been observed that the cultivators of the soil are those who were least willing to part with their rights, and submit themselves to the will of a master. I have no doubt, also, that a taste for agricultural pursuits is the best means of disciplining the ambition of those daring spirits who occasionally spring up in the world, for good or for evil, to defend or destroy the liberties of their fellow-men, as the principles received from education or circumstances may tend. As long as the leaders of the Roman armies were taken from the plow, to the plow they were willing to return; never, in the character of general, forgetting the duties of the citizen, and ever ready to exchange the sword and the triumphal purple for the homely vestments of the husbandman.

“The history of this far-famed republic is full of

instances of this kind; but none more remarkable than our own age and country have produced. The fascinations of power and the trappings of command were as much despised, and the enjoyment of rural scenes and rural employments as highly prized, by our Washington as by Cincinnatus or Regulus. At the close of his glorious military career he says: 'I am preparing to return to that domestic retirement which it is well known I left with the deepest regret, and for which I have not ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence.'

"Your efforts, gentlemen, to diffuse a taste for agriculture amongst men of all descriptions and professions may produce results more important even than increasing the means of subsistence and the enjoyment of life. It may cause some future conqueror for his country to end his career 'guiltless of his country's blood.' . . .

"To the heart-cheering prospect of flocks and herds feeding on unrivaled pastures, fields of grain, exhibiting the Scriptural proof that the seed had been cast on good ground, how often is the eye of the philanthropic traveler disgusted with the dark, unsightly manufactories of a certain poison—poison to the body and the soul! A modern Æneas or Ulysses might mistake them for entrances into the infernal regions; nor would they greatly err. But unlike those passages which conducted the Grecian and Trojan heroes on their pious errands, the scenes to which these conduct the unhappy wretch who shall enter, are those exclusively of misery and woe. No relief to the sad picture; no Tartarus there, no Elysium here. It is all Tartarian darkness, and, not unfrequently, Tartarian crime. I speak more freely of the practice of converting the material of the 'staff of life' (and by which so many human beings yearly perish) into an article which is so destructive of health and happiness, because in that way I have sinned myself; but in that way I shall sin no more."

These beautiful sentiments as to agriculture have been gaining new advocates from every possible source since the day they were uttered. From the strifes, follies, and turmoils of life hundreds of the intelligent are daily seeking the quiet and freedom of the farm. Isabella L. Bird, a daring traveler, says, in her recent book of "Life in the Rocky Mountains," in comparing mining and agriculture: "Agriculture restores and beautifies; mining destroys and devastates, turning the earth inside out, making it hideous, as it usually blights man's heart and soul."

At this period General Harrison made a number of valuable speeches and addresses which present him in a favorable light as a correct and comprehensive thinker. In a speech in Vincennes in 1835 he brought out fully the non-intervention doctrine as to slavery then common in politics. The following extract from that speech will sufficiently indicate the faith in which he died, while he firmly believed the time of universal freedom was sure to come in America :—

"I have now, fellow-citizens, a few more words to say on another subject, and which is, in my opinion, of more importance than any other that is now in the course of discussion in any part of the Union. I allude to the societies which have been formed, and the movements of certain individuals in some of the States in relation to a portion of the population in others. The conduct of these persons is the more dangerous, because their object is masked under the garb of disinterestedness and benevolence; and their course vindicated by arguments and



propositions which, in the abstract, no one can deny. But, however fascinating may be the dress with which their schemes are presented to their fellow-citizens, with whatever purity of intention they may have been formed and sustained, they will be found to carry in their train mischief to the whole Union, and horrors to a large portion of it, which, it is probable, some of the projectors and many of their supporters have never thought of; the latter, the first in the series of evils which are to spring from their source, are such as you have seen perpetrated on the fair plains of Italy and Gaul, by the Scythian hordes of Attila and Alaric; and such as most of you apprehended upon that memorable night, when the tomahawks and war-clubs of the followers of Tecumthe were rattling in your suburbs. . . .

“Am I wrong, fellow-citizens, in applying the terms weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional, to the measures of the emancipators? A slight examination will, I think, show that I am not. In a vindication of the objects of a convention which was lately held in one of the towns of Ohio, which I saw in a newspaper, it was said that nothing more was intended than to produce a state of public feeling which would lead to an amendment of the Constitution, authorizing the abolition of slavery in the United States. Now can an amendment of the Constitution be effected without the consent of the Southern States? What, then, is the proposition to be submitted to them? It is this: ‘The present provisions of the Constitution secure to you the right (a right which you held before it was made, which you have never given up) to manage your domestic concerns in your own way; but as we are convinced that you do not manage them properly, we want you to put in the hands of the General Government, in the councils of which we have the majority, the control over these matters, the effect of which will be virtually to transfer the power from yours into our hands.’ Again, in some of the States,



and in sections of others, the black population far exceeds that of the white. Some of the emancipators propose immediate abolition. What is the proposition, then, as it regards the States and parts of States, but the alternative of amalgamation with the blacks, or an exchange of situations with them? Is there any man of common sense who does not believe that the emancipated blacks, being a majority, will not insist upon a full participation of political rights with the whites; and when possessed of these, they will not contend for a full share of social rights also? What but the extremity of weakness and folly could induce any one to think that such propositions as these could be listened to by a people so intelligent as the Southern States? . . . Is it possible that instances of greater vanity and presumption could be exhibited? But the course pursued by the emancipators is unconstitutional. I do not say that there are any words in the Constitution which forbid the discussions they are engaged in; I know that there are not. And citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions without restriction. But in the construction of the Constitution, it is always necessary to refer to the circumstances under which it was framed, and to ascertain its meaning by a comparison of its provisions with each other, and with the previous situation of the several States who were parties to it. In a portion of these, slavery was recognized, and they took care to have the right secured to them to follow and reclaim such of them as were fugitives to other States. The laws of Congress, passed under this power, have provided punishment for any one who shall oppose or interrupt the exercise of this right. Now can any one believe that the instrument which contains a provision of this kind, which authorizes a master to pursue his slave into another State, take him back, and provides a punishment for any citizen or citizens of that State who should oppose him, should, at the same time, authorize the latter to assemble together, to

pass resolutions, and adopt addresses, not only to encourage the slaves to leave their masters, but to cut their throats before they do so?

“I insist that if the citizens of the non-slaveholding States can avail themselves of the article of the Constitution which prohibits the restriction of speech or the press to publish any thing injurious to the rights of the slaveholding States, that they can go to the extreme that I have mentioned, and effect any thing further which writing or speaking could effect. But, fellow-citizens, these are not the principles of the Constitution. Such a construction would defeat one of the great objects of its formation, which was that of securing the peace and harmony of the States which were parties to it. The liberty of speech and of the press were given as the most effectual means to preserve to each and every citizen his own rights, and to the States the rights which appertained to them at the time of their adoption. It could never have been expected that it would be used by the citizens of one portion of the States for the purpose of depriving those of another portion of the rights which they had reserved at the adoption of the Constitution, and in the exercise of which none but themselves have any concern or interest. If slavery is an evil, the evil is with them. If there is guilt in it, the guilt is theirs, not ours, since neither the States where it does not exist, nor the Government of the United States, can, without usurpation of power, and the violation of a solemn compact, do anything to remove it without the consent of those who are immediately interested. But they will neither ask for aid nor consent to be aided, whilst the illegal, persecuting, and dangerous movements are in progress, of which I complain. The interest of all concerned requires that these should be stopped immediately. This can only be done by the force of public opinion, and that can not too soon be brought into operation.”

As early as 1828, General Harrison had been mentioned as a suitable candidate for Vice-President, and at different times his name had more recently been connected with the candidates for the chief office. In 1836 a movement in his favor took place without being systematic, general, or very cordial, by which he became the Whig candidate for the Presidency. Yet the vote against Mr. Van Buren was divided at this time between General Harrison, Daniel Webster, Hugh Lawson White, and W. P. Mangum. White was a Democrat, and had long felt that he should be General Jackson's successor. There was no earthly chance for his election, and his nomination by a faction at the instigation of Mr. Calhoun was meant to defeat Mr. Van Buren. The Whigs did not expect success, but they hoped by the great diversity in the opposition force to throw the election into the House. Although the Whig party exhibited considerable strength at this time, its organization was yet not very thorough.

General Harrison had been a Republican after the manner of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. In the new arrangement of affairs under General Jackson in 1829, there was a wide-spread breaking away from the old political quiet of the country. Jackson was the leader. His course produced new issues, and fierce contests over old customs. Men who stood in the Democratic ranks without question now went into the opposition which was determined and uncompromising. The old Federalists soon woke up, and came out of their long lethargy.

Much of the policy of the new or Jackson Democracy was extremely repugnant to General Harrison ; and with others he was soon found among the strong supporters of Clay and the opposition principles. General Jackson's course towards him, no doubt, gave some force to his political inclinations. The manner and character of the Jackson party had much to do with his early opposition. He supported the Administration of Mr. Adams ; and in the contest of 1832 his position was well known, as were his sentiments and standing four years later. He never withheld his opinions, and although the Whigs were finally unfortunate in his election, they never would have been disappointed in his departure from their avowed principles and policy.

Early in September, 1835, a large meeting of citizens of Albany, New York, recommended General Harrison for the Presidency. Soon after this the Anti-Masons of Pennsylvania sent him a letter asking his explicit opinion of them as a political force with a view to determining their future course as to a choice of Presidential candidates. His reply was manly and unequivocal, to the effect that neither any of his family nor himself had ever been a Mason, and that although he was not partial to the order, yet if he were elected President he would not wage a war against law-abiding, patriotic men who differed with him in opinion. A Harrison meeting of considerable magnitude and enthusiasm was held in Philadelphia, in November, 1835, in which the General was again recommended for the Presidency. In December, 1835,



the Pennsylvania State Democratic Anti-Masonic Convention met in Harrisburg with delegates from all the counties. Their first ballot for candidate for President resulted as follows :

General Harrison, . . . . .	89
Daniel Webster, . . . . .	29
Francis Granger, . . . . .	3

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT :

Francis Granger, . . . . .	102
Hugh L. White, . . . . .	5
William Slade, . . . . .	5
William A. Palmer, . . . . .	7

On the 29th of December, 1835, the Whigs, of Maryland, in convention in Baltimore nominated Harrison for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. On the 22d of February, 1836, the Ohio Whigs in convention at Columbus nominated Harrison and Granger. The Anti-Masons in Vermont also announced the same candidates. The Whigs in several other States took the same course formally. In Virginia Mr. Tyler was substituted for Francis Granger. No National Whig or opposition Convention was held at this time; a kind of spontaneous sentiment arose in favor of Harrison as following the lead of the Whig State Conventions at Harrisburg and other places. Still the movement was not at all general, and the Whigs were not united, some States not having a Whig electoral ticket in the field. In New England General Harrison was not supported with much warmth. Even in New York Horace Greeley was the only prominent editor who exhibited a little enthusiasm in his advocacy.



Mr. Greeley's exceedingly unfavorable opinion of Martin Van Buren greatly stimulated his zeal for Harrison. Francis Granger, who was connected with General Harrison, was an admirable character; and against him on the Democratic ticket was General Harrison's old friend and advocate, Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson. The campaign was not an exciting one, and no persons were more surprised with the result than the Whigs. The following frank statement of principles and policy was drawn from Harrison at this time by Mr. Williams, a member of Congress from Connecticut:—

“NORTH BEND, May 1, 1836.

“SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th ultimo, in which you request me to answer the following questions:

“1st. ‘Will you, if elected President of the United States, sign and approve a bill distributing the surplus revenue of the United States to each State, according to the federal population of each, for internal improvement, education, and to such other objects as the Legislature of the several States may see fit to apply the same?’

“2d. ‘Will you sign and approve a bill distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to each State, according to the federal population of each, for the purposes above specified?’

“3d. ‘Will you sign and approve bills making appropriations to improve navigable streams above ports of entry?’

“4th. ‘Will you sign and approve (if it becomes necessary to secure and save from depreciation the revenue and finances of the Nation, and to afford a uniform sound currency to the people of the United States) a bill, with proper modifications and restrictions, chartering a Bank of the United States?’

“5th. ‘What is your opinion as to the Constitutional power of the Senate or House of Representatives of the Congress of

the United States to expunge or obliterate from the journals the records and proceedings of a previous session?"

"From the manner in which the four first questions are stated, it appears that you do not ask my opinion as to the policy or propriety of the measures to which they respectively refer; but what would be my course if they were presented to me (being in the Presidential chair of the United States) in the shape of bills that had been duly passed by the Senate and House of Representatives?"

"From the opinions which I have formed of the intention of the Constitution, as to cases in which the veto power should be exercised by the President, I would have contented myself with giving an affirmative answer to the four first questions; but, from the deep interest which has been, and, indeed, is now, felt in relation to all the subjects, I think it proper to express my views upon each one separately.

"I answer, then, 1st. That the immediate return of all the surplus money which is, or ought to be, in the Treasury of the United States, to the possession of the people from whom it was taken, is called for by every principle of policy, and, indeed, of safety to our institutions; and I know of no mode of doing it better than that recommended by the present Chief Magistrate, in his first annual message to Congress, in the following words: 'To avoid these evils it appears to me that the most safe, just, and federal disposition which could be made of the surplus revenue would be its apportionment among the several States, according to the ratio of representation.'

"This proposition has reference to a state of things which now actually exists, with the exception of the amount of money thus to be disposed of; for it could not have been anticipated by the President that the surplus above the real wants or convenient expenditures of the Government would become so large as that retaining it in the Treasury would so much diminish the circulating medium as greatly to embarrass the business of the country.

"What other disposition can be made of it with a view to get it into immediate circulation but to place it in the hands of the State authorities? So great is the amount, and so rapidly is it increasing, that it could not be expended for a

very considerable time on the comparatively few objects to which it could be appropriated by the General Government; but the desired distribution amongst the people could be immediately effected by the State, from the infinite variety of ways in which it might be employed by them. By them it might be loaned to their own banking institutions, or even to individuals—a mode of distribution by the General Government which I sincerely hope is in the contemplation of no friend to this country.

“2d. Whilst I have always broadly admitted that the public lands were the common property of all the States, I have been the advocate of that mode of disposing of them which would create the greatest number of freeholders; and I conceived that in this way the interests of all would be as well secured as by any other disposition; but since, by the small size of the tracts in which the lands are now laid out, and the reduction of the price, this desirable situation is easily attainable by any person of tolerable industry, I am perfectly reconciled to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales as provided for by the bill introduced into the Senate by Mr. Clay. The interests of all seem to be well provided for by this bill; and as for the opposition which has hitherto been made to the disposition of the lands heretofore contemplated by the Representatives of the new States, there is no probability of its being adopted. I think it ought no longer to be insisted on.

“3d. As I believe that no money should be taken from the Treasury of the United States to be expended on internal improvements but for those which are strictly national, the answer to this question would be easy but from the difficulty of determining which of those that are from time to time proposed would be of this description. This circumstance, the excitement which has already been produced by appropriations of this kind, and the jealousies which it will no doubt continue to produce if persisted in, give additional claims to the mode of appropriating all the surplus revenue of the United States in the manner above suggested. Each State will then have the means of accomplishing its own schemes of internal improvement. Still there will be particular cases when a contemplated improvement will be of greater advantage to the

Union generally, and some particular States, than to that in which it is to be made. In such cases, as well as those in the new States, where the value of the public domain will be greatly enhanced by an improvement in the means of communication, the General Government should certainly largely contribute. To appropriations of the latter character there has never been any very warm opposition. Upon the whole, the distribution of the surplus revenue amongst the States seems likely to remove most, if not all, the causes of dissension of which the internal improvement system has been the fruitful source. There is nothing, in my opinion, more sacredly incumbent upon those who are concerned in the administration of our Government than that of preserving harmony between the States. From the construction of our system there has been, and probably ever will be, more or less jealousy between the General and State governments; but there is nothing in the Constitution—nothing in the character of the relation which the States bear to each other—which can create any unfriendly feeling, if the common guardian administers its favor with an even and impartial hand. That this may be the case, all those to whom any portion of this delicate power is intrusted should always act upon the principles of forbearance and conciliation; ever more ready to sacrifice the interests of their immediate constituents rather than violate the rights of the other members of the family. Those who pursue a different course, whose rule is never to stop short of the attainment of all which they may consider their due, will often be found to have trespassed upon the boundary they had themselves established. The observations with which I shall conclude this letter, on the subject of the veto power by the President, will apply to this as well as your other questions.

“4th. I have before me a newspaper in which I am designated, by its distinguished editor, ‘The Bank and Federal Candidate.’ I think it would puzzle the writer to adduce any act of my life which warrants him in identifying me with the interest of the first, or the politics of the latter. Having no means of ascertaining the sentiments of the directors and stockholders of the Bank of the United States (which is the one, I presume, with which it was intended to associate me), I can



not say what their course is likely to be in relation to the ensuing election for President. Should they, however, give me their support, it will be evidence, at least, that the opposition which I gave to their institution in my capacity as Representative from Ohio in Congress proceeded, in their opinion, from a sense of duty which I could not disregard.

“The journals of the second session of the Thirteenth and those of the Fourteenth Congress will show that my votes are recorded against them upon every question in which their interest was involved. I did, indeed, exert myself in the Senate of Ohio to procure a repeal of the law which had imposed an enormous tax upon the branches which had been located in its boundaries, at the request of the citizens. The ground of those exertions was not the interest of the bank; but to save what I considered the honor of the State, and to prevent a controversy between the State officers and those of the United States.

“In the spring of 1834 I had also the honor to preside at a meeting of the citizens of Hamilton County, called for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in relation to the removal of the public money from the custody of the bank by the sole authority of the Executive. As president of the meeting, I explained at some length the object for which it was convened, but I advanced no opinion in relation to the rechartering of the bank.

“A most respectful memorial to the President in relation to the removal of the deposits was adopted, as were also resolutions in favor of rechartering the bank; but, as I have already said, this was not the purpose for which the meeting was called, and not one upon which, as presiding officer, I was called upon to give an opinion but in the event of an equal division of the votes.

“As a private citizen no man can be more entirely clear of any motive either for rechartering the old institution, or creating a new one under the authority of the United States. I never had a single share in the former, nor, indeed, in any bank, with one exception; and that many years ago failed with the loss of the entire stock. I have no inclination again to venture in that way, even if I should ever possess the means. With the exception above mentioned of stock in a bank long



since broken, I never put out a dollar at interest in my life. My interest being entirely identified with the cultivation of the soil, I am immediately and personally connected with none other.

“I have made this statement to show you that I am not committed to any course in relation to the chartering of a Bank of the United States; and that I might, if so disposed, join in the popular cry of denunciation against the old institution, and upon its misconduct predicate an opposition to the chartering of another.

“I shall not, however, take this course, so opposite to that which I hope I have followed through life; but will give you my sentiments clearly and fully, not only with regard to the future conduct of the Government on the subject of a national bank, but in relation to the operation of that which is now defunct.

“I was not in Congress when the late bank was chartered, but was a member of the Thirteenth Congress, after its first session, when the conduct of the bank in its incipient measures was examined into; and believing, from the result of the investigation, that the charter had been violated, I voted for the judicial investigation with a view of annulling its charter. The resolution for that purpose, however, failed; and shortly after the management of its affairs was committed to the talents and integrity of Mr. Cheves. From that period to its final dissolution (although I must confess I am not a very competent judge of such matters), I have no idea that an institution could have been conducted with more ability, integrity, and public advantage than it has been.

“Under these impressions, I agree with General Jackson in the opinion expressed in one of his messages to Congress, from which I make the following extract: ‘That a Bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt.’ But the period for re-chartering the old institution has passed, as Pennsylvania has wisely taken care to appropriate to herself the benefits of its large capital.

“The question, then, for me to answer is, whether, under the circumstances you state, if elected to the office of President, I would sign an act to charter another bank. I answer, I would, if it were clearly ascertained that the public interest in relation to the collection and disbursement of the revenue would materially suffer without one, and there were unequivocal manifestations of public opinion in its favor. I think, however, the experiment should be fairly tried, to ascertain whether the financial operations of the Government can not be as well carried on without the aid of a national bank. If it is not necessary for that purpose, it does not appear to me that one can be Constitutionally chartered. There is no construction which I can give the Constitution which would authorize it, on the ground of affording facilities to commerce. The measure, if adopted, must have for its object the carrying into effect (facilitating at least the exercise of) some *one* of the powers positively granted to the General Government. If others flow from it, producing equal or greater advantages to the Nation, so much the better; but these can not be made the ground for justifying a recourse to it. The excitement which has been produced by the bank question, the number and respectability of those who deny the right to Congress to charter one, strongly recommended the course above suggested.

“5th. I distinctly answer to this question, that in my opinion, neither House of Congress can Constitutionally expunge the record of the proceedings of their predecessors.

“The power to rescind certainly belongs to them; and is, for every public legitimate purpose, all that is necessary. The attempt to expunge their journal, now making in the Senate of the United States, I am satisfied could never have been made but in a period of the highest party excitement, when the voice of reason and generous feeling is stifled by long protracted and bitter controversy.

“In relation to the exercise of the veto power by the President, there is, I think, an important difference in opinion between the present Chief Magistrate and myself. I express this opinion with less diffidence, because I believe mine is in strict accordance with those of all the previous Presidents to General Jackson.

“The veto power, or the control of the Executive over the enactment of laws by the legislative body, was not unknown in the United States previously to the formation of the present Federal Constitution. It does not appear, however, to have been in much favor. The principle was to be found in but three of the State constitutions; and in but one of them (Massachusetts) was the executive power lodged in the hands of a single Chief Magistrate. One other State (South Carolina) had, indeed, not only adopted this principle, but had given its single Executive Magistrate an absolute negative upon the acts of the Legislature. In all other instances it has been a qualified negative, like that of the United States. The people of South Carolina seem, however, not to have been long pleased with this investment of power in their governor, as it lasted but two years; having been adopted in 1776, and repealed in 1778; from which time the acts of the Legislature of that State have been entirely freed from executive control. Since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the veto principle has been adopted by several other States; and until very lately it seemed to be very rapidly growing into favor.

“Before we can form a correct opinion of the manner in which this power should be exercised, it is proper to understand the reasons which have induced its adoption. In its theory it is manifestly an innovation upon the first principle of republican government—that the majority should rule. Why should a single individual control the will of that majority?

“It will not be said that there is more probability of finding greater wisdom in the executive chair than in the halls of the Legislature. Nor can it possibly be supposed that an individual residing in the center of an extensive country can be as well acquainted with the wants and wishes of a numerous people as those who come immediately from amongst them—the partakers, for a portion of the year, in their various labors and employments, and the witnesses of the effects of the laws in their more minute as well as general operations.

“As far, then, as it regards a knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, wisdom to discover remedies for increasing the public prosperity, it would seem that the legislative bodies did not require the aid of an Executive Magistrate. But there

is a principle, recognized by all the American constitutions, which was unknown to the ancient republics. They all acknowledge rights in the minority, which can not rightfully be taken from them. Experience had shown that in large assemblies these rights were not always respected. It would be in vain that they should be enumerated, and respect for them enjoined in the Constitution. A popular assembly, under the influence of that spirit of party which is always discoverable in a greater or less degree in all republics, might, and would, as it was believed, sometimes disregard them. To guard against this danger, and to secure the rights of each individual, the expedient of creating a department independent of the others, and amenable only to the laws, was adopted. Security was thus given against any palpable violation of the Constitution, to the injury of individuals, or a minority party. But it was still possible for a willful and excited majority to enact laws of the greatest injustice and tyranny, without violating the letter of their charter.

“And this I take to be the origin of the veto power, as well in the State governments as that of the United States. It appears to have been the intention to create an umpire between the contending factions, which had existed, it was believed, and would continue to exist. If there was any propriety in adopting this principle in the government of a State, all the reasons in favor of it existed in a tenfold degree for incorporating it in that of the United States. The operations of the latter, extending over an immense tract of country, embracing the products of almost every clime, and that country divided, too, into a number of separate governments, in many respects independent of each other and of the common Federal head, left but little hope that they could always be carried on in harmony. It could not be doubted that sectional interests would at times predominate in the bosoms of the immediate representatives of the people and the States, combinations formed destructive of the public good, or unjust and oppressive to a minority. Where could a power to check these local feelings, and to destroy the effects of unjust combinations, be better placed than in the hands of that department whose authority, being derived from the same common sovereign, is co-ordinate with the rest,



and which enjoys the great distinction of being at once the immediate representative of the whole people, as well as of each particular State?

“In the former character, the interests of the whole community would be rigidly supported, and, in the latter, the rights of each member steadfastly maintained. The representation from the State authorities in the electoral colleges, I consider one of the most felicitous features in the Constitution. It serves as an eternal memento to the Chief Magistrate that it is his duty to guard the interests of the weak against the unjust aggressions of the strong and powerful. From these premises you will conclude that I consider the qualified veto upon the acts of the Legislature, conferred by the Constitution upon the President, as a *conservative* power, intended only to be used to secure the instrument itself from violation, or, in times of high party excitement, to protect the rights of the minority, and the interests of the weaker members of the Union. Such, indeed, is my opinion, and such we must believe to be the opinion of nearly all the distinguished men who have filled the Executive Chair. If I were President of the United States, an act which did not involve either of the principles above enumerated, must have been passed under very peculiar circumstances of precipitancy or opposition to the known public will, to induce me to refuse to it my sanction.

“If the opinion I have given of the motives of the framers of the Constitution, in giving the veto power to the President, is correct, it follows that they never could have expected that he who was constituted the umpire between contending factions, should ever identify himself with the interests of one of them, and voluntarily *raise* himself from the proud eminence of leader of a nation to that of chief of a party. I can easily conceive the existence of a state of things by which the Chief Magistrate of a State may be forced to act upon party principles; but such a course is entirely opposed to all the obligations which the Constitution imposes on a President of the United States. The immense influence he possesses will always give to his party the preponderance, and the very circumstance of its being an Executive party will be the cause of infusing more bitterness and vindictive feeling in these domestic contests. Under these



circumstances, the qualified veto given by the Constitution may, if the President should think proper to change its character, become as absolute in practice as that possessed by the kings of England and France. From the great variety of local interests acting upon the members of the two Houses of Congress, and from the difficulty of keeping all the individuals of a large party under the control of party discipline, laws will often be passed by small majorities adverse to the interests of the dominant party; but if the President should think proper to use the veto power for the purpose of promoting the interests of his party, it will be in vain to expect that a majority so large as two-thirds in both Houses would be found in opposition to his wishes. In the hands of such a President, the qualified veto of the Constitution would in practice be absolute.

“I have, upon another occasion, expressed my views upon the danger of a dominant Executive party. It may, perhaps, be said that the Chief Magistrate will find it impossible to avoid the influence of party spirit. Several of our Chief Magistrates, however, have been able to escape its influence; or, what is the same thing, to act as if they did not feel it. As one mode of avoiding it, it would be my aim to interfere with the legislation of Congress as little as possible. The clause in the Constitution which makes it the duty of the President to give Congress information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, could never be intended to make him the source of legislation. Information should always be frankly given, and recommendations upon such matters as come more immediately under his cognizance than theirs. But there it should end. If he should undertake to prepare the business of legislation for the action of Congress, or to assume the character of code-maker for the Nation, the personal interest which he will take in the success of his measures will necessarily convert him into a partisan, and will totally incapacitate him from performing the part of that impartial umpire, which is the character that I have supposed the Constitution intends him to assume, when the acts passed by the Legislature are submitted to his decision. I do not think it by any means necessary that he should take the lead as a reformer, even when reformation is,

in his opinion, necessary. Reformers will be never wanting when it is well understood that the power which wields the whole patronage of the Nation will not oppose the reformation.

“I have the honor to be, with great consideration and respect, sir, your humble servant,

“ W. H. HARRISON.

“To the Hon. SHERROD WILLIAMS.”

The views here announced on the veto power, and the “expunging” performance of the United States Senate, further widened the breach between Harrison and General Jackson, whom no man could safely oppose. But the letter was well calculated to give Harrison a favorable place in the esteem of the supporters of Whig measures. It also helped to establish his title to general respect as a man fully in sympathy with the people, with the single desire to see the Government administered according to its design as the instrument of the greatest possible good to them.

Although the campaign of 1836 was comparatively spiritless, there was the usual amount of scandal and lying. Among other things, General Harrison was accused of favoring the selling of white men for debt; and that, while he was for a short time in the Senate of the United States, of voting to imprison them for debt. When on a visit to Richmond, Virginia, in September, Harrison received a letter from John H. Pleasants on this subject, and replied to it on the spot with considerable feeling, denying the charge, and showing from the records that his votes and acts in the Senate had been against the law. He also showed that in the

Ohio Legislature he had been consistent in his friendly disposition toward the poor and unfortunate. In the following month he was also forced to defend himself against the charge that he had wantonly burned a Moravian Indian town in Canada, showing that, while he had nothing to do with the case, he stoutly defended the officer who ordered the burning in the absence of the commanding general.

At this election Harrison received the electoral votes of Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, in all seventy-three votes. And, although Mr. Van Buren carried the electoral vote of fifteen States, he had a popular majority over all the opposition candidates of only 24,893 votes. Massachusetts gave her fourteen votes to Daniel Webster for President. Georgia and Tennessee gave their twenty-six votes to Hugh L. White; and South Carolina gave her vote to W. P. Mangum, of North Carolina, who was not a candidate. Of the two hundred and ninety-four electoral votes, the united Whig vote for the Presidency was eighty-seven. This result was so much beyond the expectations of the Whigs that they at once set about preparing for the next campaign; and a large proportion of them thought they had at last fallen upon the very man who could win. Although Clay and Webster deserved everything of their party, perhaps, speaking in a party sense, yet the managers soon decided to do two things for the next time—have all the benefits of organization, and select the candidate most likely to succeed.

Mr. Granger received seventy-seven votes, John Tyler forty-seven, Richard M. Johnson one hundred and forty-seven; and Virginia cast her twenty-three votes for William Smith, of Alabama, for Vice-President. Mr. Johnson lacked one vote of enough to elect him. But the Senate proceeded to do, according to law, what the people had failed to do, and Colonel Johnson became Vice-President.

## CHAPTER XXI.

CONVENTIONS — PRESIDENTIAL RACE — THE LOG-CABIN  
AND HARD-CIDER CAMPAIGN — MARTIN VAN  
AND OLD TIPPECANOE.

IN 1837, General Harrison delivered an address before the Philosophical and Historical Society of Ohio at Cincinnati. This was called "A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio," was printed in the "Transactions of the Society" for 1839, and contains more than forty pages octavo. It begins with the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, and embraces, besides much information about American Indians, considerable sophomoric, Harrisonian, characteristic flourishing about Greece and Rome, Telemachus, Hippias, Scipio Africanus, Themistocles, Cato, and other worthless models of an unlovable and unexemplary past. The following is an extract from a letter written by Harrison in 1838 in reply to a question from A. B. Howell, of New Jersey, as to the position of the General on the utterly devilish practice of dueling:—

I am satisfied that what I have said above does not entirely meet your inquiry, and that you will expect me to state what effect the scenes described had in forming my own principles and governing my own conduct.



I have already stated an entire change in my sentiments, on the subject of dueling, from those which I entertained upon my first entering the army; and for which no excuse can be offered but my extreme youth and the bad examples continually before me. In almost every other case, possessed of the deliberate opinions of a man, you might safely conclude that his conduct would be in conformity to them. But such, alas! is not the case with men of the world in relation to the laws which form 'the code of honor.' Abstractly considered, they all condemn them, whilst in practice they adopt them. In all other cases, independent men act from their own convictions, but in this case upon the opinions of others, or rather from what they fear may be the opinions of others. I acknowledge, then, that the change of my opinions, which I have admitted in relation to dueling, had no other influence on my conduct than to determine me never to be the aggressor. But although resolved to offer no insult nor inflict any injury, I was determined to suffer none. When I left the army, however, and retired to civil life, I considered myself authorized greatly to narrow the ground upon which I would be willing to resort to a personal combat. To the determination which I had previously made to offer no insult nor inflict any injury to give occasion to any one to call upon me in this way (for after witnessing the scene which I have last described, the wealth and honors of the world would not have tempted me to level a pistol at the breast of a man whom I had injured), I resolved to disregard all remarks upon my conduct which could not be construed into a deliberate insult, or any injury which did not affect my reputation or the happiness and peace of my family. When I had the honor to be called upon to command the North-western army, recollecting the number of gallant men that had fallen in the former war in personal combat, I determined to use all the authority and all the influence of my station to prevent their recurrence.

And, to take away the principal source from which they spring, in an address to the Pennsylvania brigade, at Sandusky, I declared it to be my determination to prevent, by all the means that the military laws placed in my hands, any injury, or even insult, which should be offered by the superior to the inferior officers. I can not say what influence this course upon my part may have produced in the result; but I state with pleasure that there was not a single duel, nor, as far as I know, a challenge given, whilst I retained the command. The activity in which the army was constantly kept may, however, have been the principal cause of this uncommon harmony.

“In relation to my present sentiments, a sense of higher obligations than human laws or human opinions can impose has determined me never, on any account, to accept a challenge, or seek redress for a personal injury by a resort to the laws which compose the code of honor.”

Every attempt was made at this time to put Harrison on record before the country, no matter how trifling the subject. But he did not flinch from fairly and fully meeting the demands upon him. In the second week of November, 1838, an Anti-Masonic convention was held in Temperance Hall, Philadelphia, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts were represented, and each State voted *viva voce*. Harmar Denny, of Pittsburgh, was chosen chairman; and after some delay, by motion of Thaddeus Stevens, General Harrison was nominated for the Presidency and Daniel Webster for the Vice-Presidency. And all the votes of the convention were cast for them, no other candidates being offered. In a reply to a

communication from the chairman of this convention the General wrote:—

GENERAL HARRISON TO HARMAR DENNY.

“NORTH BEND, December 2, 1838.

“DEAR SIR,—As it is probable that you have by this time returned to Pittsburgh, I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Philadelphia, containing the proceedings of the National Democratic Anti-Masonic Convention, which lately convened in that city. With feelings of the deepest gratitude, I read the resolution unanimously adopted, nominating me as a candidate for the President of the United States. This is the second time that I have received from that patriotic party, of which you yourself are a distinguished member, the highest evidence of confidence that can be given to a citizen of our Republic. I would attempt to describe my sense of the obligations I owe them, if I were not convinced that any language which I could command would fall far short of what I really feel. If, however, the wishes of the convention should be realized, and if I should second their efforts, I shall have it in my power to manifest my gratitude in a manner more acceptable to those whom you represent, than by any professions of it which I could at this time make; I mean by exerting my utmost efforts to carry out the principles set forth in their resolutions, by arresting the progress of the measures ‘destructive to the prosperity of the people, and tending to the subversion of their liberties,’ and substituting for them those sound Democratic Republican doctrines, upon which the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison were conducted.

“Among the principles proper to be adopted by any Executive sincerely desirous to restore the Administration to its original simplicity and purity, I deem the following to be of prominent importance:

“I. To confine his service to a single term.

“II. To disclaim all right of control over the public treasure, with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law, to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that department.

“III. That he should never attempt to influence the elections, either by the people or the State Legislatures, nor suffer the Federal officers under his control to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes when they possess the right of voting.

“IV. That in the exercise of the veto power he should limit his rejection of bills to,—1st, Such as are, in his opinion, unconstitutional; 2d, Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the States or individuals; 3d, Such as involving deep interests, may, in his opinion, require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people, to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

“V. That he should never suffer the influence of his office to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

VI. That in removals from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the Executive, the cause of such removal should be stated, if requested, to the Senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

“And last, but not least in importance,—

“VII. That he should not suffer the Executive Department of the Government to become the source of legislation; but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the Constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfect shape, where and when alone the opinions of the Executive may be heard. . . .

“The question may perhaps be asked of me, what security I have in my power to offer, if the majority of the American people should select me for their Chief

Magistrate, that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down as those upon which my Administration would be conducted; I could only answer by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in the discharge of the duties of several important offices which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If the power placed in my hands has, on even a single occasion, been used for any purpose other than that for which it was given, or retained longer than was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom the trusts were received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make, under the circumstances in which I am now placed."

The following letter is taken from the "Cincinnati Commercial" of 1879:—

"NORTH BEND, 12th December, 1838.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 5th instant the day before yesterday. I have come to the determination from necessity to decline giving any opinions upon political subjects for publication. Had I not adopted this rule I would have to abandon my business (necessary to the support of my very large family) and devote myself entirely to political writing. But as you tell me that you are about publishing a pamphlet on the subject of slavery I will, as a friend, give you my opinion upon one Constitutional principle in relation to which either you or I very greatly err.

"No one, I think, can well understand the character of our peculiar Government without having it impressed upon his mind that our Union is a Union of *Sovereign Independent States*, and that in every particular where power is not expressly surrendered by that instrument to the General Government it is retained by the States, and that in relation to matters so retained they are as completely sovereign



and independent of the General Government and of each other as are France and Gréat Britain.

“ You seem to suppose that an article in the Constitution not having been inserted in it (*sic*), the General Government would have the complete power over the slavery question in the States. This I apprehend to be a mistake; the Constitution guarantees no article permitting or forbidding slavery in the States. The slaveholding States (of which there were at that time nine out of thirteen) did not wish such an article inserted. They *retained* the complete control over the subject of slavery within their own boundaries *by not surrendering it*. All that they asked to have inserted in the Constitution in relation to the subject was that when their slaves fled from them and sought refuge in other States, they should be delivered up on their application. When, therefore, you say that ‘an early and amicable adjustment of the question is desirable,’ it can not refer to the slavery *in the States*, but may with propriety refer to the District of Columbia, within which the power of legislation is expressly given to Congress. But no law which that body can pass can in any way affect the right which the people of the slaveholding States claim over their slaves, any more than Congress can pass a law to change the qualifications of electors in the States, or define the period when minors are to be freed from the control of their parents. To do either would change the whole character of the Government, and realize the dread of a large portion of the ablest statesmen in our country at the period of the adoption of the Constitution, that it would end first in a consolidation and then in a despotism, which latter could only be averted by preserving the independence of the States of the General Government in matters which they had reserved for their own exclusive action. The citizens of the free States have the right as *individuals* to give their opinions to their brethren in the slave States upon the subject of slavery, as they can upon

the subject of internal improvements, the extension of the right of voting, etc.; but they have *no power* whatever to control upon any of these subjects. Give them your opinions, then, upon the former subject, but I can tell you that however able your appeal to them may be on the abstract question, if you assume the *right* of control over the subject either for the United States (except as to the District of Columbia), the free State authorities, or yourself individually, it *may* do harm, but will certainly do no good.

"I repeat that I write to you merely as a friend and not by any means for publication, and I write in haste amidst preparations for a journey to Columbus where I have been summoned as a witness in a case in the United States Court. Yours, very truly, W. H. HARRISON.

"*December 24.*—This letter was written on the day of its date but kept from the post-office by the inattention of one of my sons.

"To JOHN B. DILLON, Esq."

In answer to some old charges, now revived against him, Harrison wrote as follows to the editor of an Ohio newspaper:—

"NORTH BEND, October 18, 1839.

"DEAR SIR,—The article you wrote in reply to some abusive remarks made upon me by the editors of two of the Ohio newspapers is still going the rounds of publication in the journals of the Atlantic cities. It is at least once a week brought to my notice, and yet I have delayed to execute the intention I formed when I first saw it, to express in a letter to you my deep sense of gratitude for the exalted terms in which you have been pleased to speak of me, and my admiration of the generosity and nobleness of soul which prompted you to become my defender under the circumstances in which you stand in relation to those by whom I was assailed. I can give no other reason for the delay than the apprehension that I

should not be able properly to express my feelings on an occasion where they had been so strongly excited. They are, I trust, such as they ought to be, and such as a heart like yours will readily believe to exist in the bosom of another who owes a debt of gratitude that he despairs of ever being able to repay. But however highly I may value the approbation, coming from a source the purity of which no one can doubt, candor obliges me to say that you have done me more than justice, in attributing to me uncommon merit in my disinterested management of the public funds submitted to my control, and in the execution of the important powers with which I have been clothed at different times by the Government of the United States.

“As it regards the first, how could I act otherwise, considering the tutorage I received in my youth, and which is common to all brought up in the part of the country from which we both came? There were circumstances in my situation, too, which would have rendered the guilt of any dereliction of duty in me of deeper dye than in most of the other public officers. I allude to the great confidence (manifested by the extraordinary powers conferred upon me) reposed in me by the great statesmen and patriots under whom it was my good fortune to act. Take a sample or two: I was Governor of Indiana (at that time it comprised what is now Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and by the Constitution (the ordinance) vested with the power to appoint all the officers (under the first grade), and to lay off counties and fix seats of justice. Under the second, a complete control over the Legislature. I was, moreover, vested by Congress with the complete control over the public domain at Vincennes, and in the Illinois country, for the settlement of all the claims to land made by the ‘French and British governments, or by courts or commandants claiming the rights to make such grants, the

whole of the land so granted, or as much thereof as might appear to me to be reasonable and just.' With these great powers in my hand, President Jefferson, in 1804, sent me a commission constituting me sole Commissioner for treating with all the North-western tribes, with the power to draw for any money I might think necessary for the accomplishment of the objects committed to me. My compensation was fixed at six dollars per diem and my expenses, when I was acting as Commissioner; but I was entirely left to myself to determine when I should be considered as acting under this commission, or the ordinary one of Superintendent. I have no means near me of ascertaining the whole amount of compensation I charged for the thirteen treaties I negotiated in the course of the eleven years that I acted under the commission. I am persuaded, however, that it did not exceed four thousand dollars; at most, five thousand dollars.

"As soon as Louisiana was acquired, I was made, by a law of Congress (at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson), *ex-officio* Governor of 'Upper Louisiana.' I do not positively know his motive for this singular arrangement; but I do know that he had it much at heart to convince the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory of the great difference between our Government and the corrupt one they had so long suffered under. Under this impression, I declined receiving the fee to which I was entitled by law, although those for Indian licenses would have brought me two or three thousand dollars; and refused to purchase any property, although I was tempted by the proprietor (A. Choteau) of three-fourths of St. Louis, and all the adjoining lands, with an individual moiety for assisting him to build up the town.

"In the War of 1811, and that which commenced in 1812, I received almost a *carte blanche* as to appointments, organization of the army, expenditures, etc. Was it possible for me to bring dishonor upon the administration of

these distinguished men by using their unlimited confidence for any other purpose than that for which it was given?

“I have only room to add that I am most truly yours,

“WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

“Mr. MILDER, Editor of the ‘Ohio Confederate.’”

A caucus of prominent Whigs was held at Washington, May 15, 1838, to arrange upon the preliminary steps for the next Presidential campaign. It was here decided to hold a national convention to nominate candidates, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, late in the following year; and as many delegates were assigned to each State as it had members in both Houses of Congress. Accordingly the first Whig National Convention met at Harrisburg, December 4 (the first Wednesday), 1839. The outlook was now flattering for the Whigs, and they were bent on making the most of it. The elections in 1837 had been unfavorable to the Administration; and, although it recovered some ground by the “sober, second thought” in 1838, by the time of the Presidential election in 1840 the tide had set in unmistakably against it.

Mr. Van Buren and Colonel Johnson were again the candidates of the Jackson, or new Democratic party. Mr. Van Buren was so identified with the Jackson policy as to be inseparable by the opposition from all the real or fancied evils the “reign” had brought upon the country. Mr. Van Buren was held responsible for what he had little more than inherited from his predecessor. If his Administration was the beginning of better days, the Whigs at least



could not see it. A change was the only sure way to prosperity. A change would correct the evils of the times, without any need of speculating as to how. Change was the specious panacea appealing to the popular whim, and before the end of the campaign it was not difficult to predict the outcome.

#### WHIG CONVENTION OF 1839.

The convention met in the new Lutheran church, Harrisburg, December 4, 1839, at noon, with Isaac C. Bates, of Massachusetts, as temporary chairman, and delegates present from twenty-two States, Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, and Arkansas not being represented. At half-past one o'clock the convention adjourned to meet at ten on the morning of the 5th. Opened with prayer. James Barbour, of Virginia, was announced as the permanent president, and on taking the chair made a good speech. A letter had been received and opened by mistake from the Arkansas delegates stating that they could not attend, and asking that a certain person should cast the vote of that State for Mr. Clay for President and John Tyler for Vice-President. This day was spent in arranging the order of business for the convention. At ten o'clock on the 6th the convention was opened by prayer. A letter was received from the officers of the Church stating that the Church was in debt, and that contributions would be accepted with thanks from members of the convention. After a short recess the convention convened at three o'clock, and was again

opened with prayer. Five adjournments were made this day to wait for the report of the Committee on Nominations, and late at night the first vote was taken for Presidential candidate, and the result announced as follows:—

Harrison, . . . . .	148
Clay, . . . . .	90
Scott, . . . . .	16

Adjourned.

At ten A. M. on Saturday, the 7th, the convention again assembled. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, said he was ready to support General Harrison. A letter was read from Mr. Clay. Speeches were made, and a great deal of enthusiasm was manifested. John Tyler was then unanimously nominated for the Vice-Presidency, receiving all the two hundred and fifty-four votes, except the twenty-three of Virginia, the committee from that State not casting their vote according to Mr. Tyler's request. This convention was noted for the number of distinguished men who were delegates, or attended its meetings, and two of the most noteworthy of these were Horace Greeley and Thurlow Weed. Although Mr. Greeley was a worshipful admirer of Henry Clay, and considered him the most superb man in America, yet he and his partner went to the Harrisburg Convention for the purpose of securing the nomination of General Harrison, if possible; and they worked hard for that purpose. Mr. Greeley made up his mind at the close of the former campaign, that they had fortunately found a man with

the requisite qualities to be elected by the Whigs, whether those qualities were best in themselves or not. But probably only one other man in the whole country regretted more deeply the necessity which caused the Whigs to leave out Mr. Clay, and their inability ever to elect him President, than did Horace Greeley. The other man was Mr. Clay himself.

Although the convention closed in great harmony, the general conviction prevailing that the result would verify the wisdom of its action, yet many earnest Whigs, friends of Clay and Webster, felt keenly the disappointment, felt that an irreparable mistake had been made, in again putting aside the two great champions for a question of availability. The great success, however, of the experiment reconciled them to some extent, until the event of the 4th of April, 1841, seemed, without any well-defined reason, to set the party back where it began. And there were soon many who were ready to cry out that the selection of Harrison had been a great mistake, and that the course which had been unjust to the two Whig leaders had become the way to the ruin of the party.

Not a few there were who always believed that Mr. Clay could have been elected in 1840. Yet the reasons for that belief have never been of the clearest kind; and probably the action of the majority in the Harrisburg Convention was as wise as the acts of majorities usually are. The campaign was the most exciting and remarkable, perhaps, in the history of national elections; and its favorable ending to the Whigs was greatly owing to the efforts of

Clay and Webster, who came like giants into the conflict. Yet this campaign was conducted by the Whigs very much on the cry of corruption and the need of change; and both Webster and Clay, never before or afterwards, did themselves so little honor as amidst this enthusiasm for partisan appeals and mere hurrah on the stump. The Whigs had before them a conspicuous example of wonderful success. The Democrats had put aside a host of very able men to take up a soldier, an available man, who had in him the elements of popular leadership at that period; and with all their able men, and all their rascals, to back this fearless chief, they had carried everything before them.

The strange, wild, fortunate word "Tippecanoe" was destined to do for the Whig leader what New Orleans had accomplished for General Jackson. Old Hickory and his brooms and hickory poles were no match for Tippecanoe and his log-cabins, coons, and hard cider. Although the enthusiasm from the very outset seemed to be on the Whig side, yet the Democrats went bravely to work; and notwithstanding they complained greatly and forever about the Whigs making it a campaign of noise without principle, they started out by bringing up all the charges made against General Harrison during his long administration of affairs in Indiana, during the War of 1812, and at every other time. The Democratic newspapers called him an old granny, a military failure, a coward, and such a fellow as Tecumseh would have put in petticoats. And, best of all for the

Whigs, they said he was an easy-going old farmer, and, not knowing anything about other matters, was contented to live in a log-cabin and drink hard cider. This very thing furnished the Whigs two of the most fortunate elements of the campaign. Every step the Democrats took was turned to some advantage by their opponents. With the same insincere artifice they started the cry at once that there was a ruling class that the Democrats were bent upon maintaining, and a part of their own purpose was to put it down. The idea of "log-cabins" and "hard cider" at once became immensely popular.

Early in the spring of 1840 Mr. Greeley, then editing the "New Yorker," started the "Log-Cabin," the most wonderful campaign newspaper ever published in this country. It took up all the available points, illustrated them with wood-cuts, satirized every act of the Democracy, displayed every campaign device, and presented itself in almost every number with a new song. The whole Whig press took up the same strain, and the country, from one end of it to the other, was in a constant turmoil night and day. The Democrats finally went to raising hickory poles, singing songs, and making a general racket. But they had not the material. The Whigs had the "inside track" on all these things. The song and the laugh all seemed to be on their side this time.

The greatest out-door political gatherings ever known in this country the Whigs had at this time. Great free dinners, barbecues, were given throughout



the country, especially in the West, where the demonstrations and fun were the most extensive. Whole oxen were roasted on huge spits, and with other solids were devoured, and washed down with hard cider. Processions paraded in city and country; log-cabins in every conceivable variety were erected on the meeting grounds, or were drawn by trains of horses or oxen through the streets and on the highways; no procession was without its wagons loaded with barrels of hard cider; and glee-clubs everywhere quaffed cider and sang night and day. All the army of Whig orators were turned loose, and many of them were hardly equaled at any other day. Clay, Webster, Thomas Corwin, S. S. Prentiss, Charles Anderson, John J. Crittenden, Thomas Ewing, Francis Granger, Millard Fillmore, John Tyler, John Bell, and a host of others made the land ring with their appeals on the stump. The most popular song of the campaign was the following which had by the inventive song-genius of Horace Greeley and scores of other less famous poets been extended to every incident and sentiment of the day, and had an unknown length:—

WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS GREAT COMMOTION?

TUNE—" *Little Pig's Tail.*"

What has caused the great commotion, motion, motion,  
Our country through?  
It is the ball a rolling on, on.

CHORUS.

For Tippecanoe and Tyler too—Tippecanoe and Tyler too;  
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van, Van,  
Van is a used up man;  
And with them we'll beat little Van.

Like the rushing of mighty waters, waters, waters,  
On it will go,  
And in its course will clear the way  
For Tippecanoe, etc.

See the Loco standard tottering, tottering, tottering,  
Down it must go,  
And in its place we'll rear the flag  
Of Tippecanoe, etc.

Don't you hear from every quarter, quarter, quarter,  
Good news and true,  
That swift the ball is rolling on  
For Tippecanoe, etc.

The Buckeye boys turned out in thousands, thousands,  
Not long ago,  
And at Columbus set their seals  
To Tippecanoe, etc.

Now you hear the Van Jacks talking, talking, talking,  
Things look quite blue,  
For all the world seems turning round  
For Tippecanoe, etc.

Let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider,  
And log cabins too,  
'T will only help to speed the ball  
For Tippecanoe, etc.

The latch-string hangs outside the door, door, door,  
And is never pulled through,  
For it never was the custom of  
Old Tippecanoe, etc.

He always has his table set, set, set,  
For all honest and true,  
And invites them in to take a bite  
With Tippecanoe, etc.

See the spoilsmen and leg treasurers, treas, treas,  
All in a stew,  
For well they know they stand no chance  
With Tippecanoe, etc.

In the following strain the "Old Oaken Bucket" was pressed into this political song service:—

A SONG OF AN OLD SOLDIER.

TUNE—"Old Oaken Bucket."

O, dear to my soul are the days of our glory,  
The time-honored days of our national pride,  
When heroes and statesmen ennobled our story,  
And boldly the foes of our country defied;  
When victory hung o'er our flag proudly waving,  
And the battle was fought by the valiant and true,  
For our homes and our loved ones the enemy braving,  
O, then stood the soldier of Tippecanoe—  
The iron-armed soldier, the true-hearted soldier,  
*The gallant old soldier of Tippecanoe.*

When dark was the tempest, and hovering o'er us,  
The clouds of destruction seemed gathering fast,  
Like a ray of bright sunshine he stood out before us,  
And the clouds passed away with the hurrying blast;  
When the Indian's loud yell and his tomahawk flashing,  
Spread terror around us, and hope was with few,  
O, then, through the ranks of the enemy dashing,  
Sprang forth to the rescue Old Tippecanoe—  
The iron-armed soldier, the true-hearted soldier,  
*The gallant old soldier of Tippecanoe.*

When cannons were pealing and brave men were reeling  
In the cold arms of death from the fire of the foe,  
Where balls flew the thickest and blows fell the quickest,  
In front of the battle bold Harry did go.

All of Harrison's good qualities were to be found somewhere mentioned in this song branch of the campaign, and none of Mr. Van Buren's so-styled bad ones were omitted. A few stanzas and some whole songs are here added, faintly exhibiting the

scope and spirit of this part of the Whig electioneering force.

#### THE HARRISON CAUSE.

AIR—" *Bonnets o' Blue.*"

Here's a health to him that's just,  
 Here's a health to him that's true,  
 And who could not wish success to the man  
 Who conquered at Tippecanoe?  
 It is good to be noble and firm,  
 It is good to be honest and true,  
 It is good to support our Harrison's cause,  
 Who stuck to the "red, white, and blue."  
 Huzza for the brave and the true  
 Who battled at Tippecanoe,  
 And the heroes whose names  
 On the bank of the Thames,  
 Were written in "red, white, and blue."

Here's success to him that's firm,  
 Here's success to him that's wise,  
 And though aged and poor will give from his store,  
 When misery ever applies!  
 Here's a health to the sage of North Bend,  
 Here's success to the man of the plow,  
 Here's a health to the man who sticks to his friend,  
 And lives by the sweat of his brow?  
 Huzza for the just and the true,  
 And the hero of Tippecanoe,  
 And the star-spangled "red, white, and blue."

#### THE LAST CABINET COUNCIL.

AIR—" *There's nae luck about the house.*"

Sly Matty's face was overcast,  
 His hopes began to lower,  
 His kitchen cabinet he called,  
 Besides the lawful four;

And bade them with a scolding tongue  
That each should truly say,  
If any chance remained for him  
On next election day.

CHORUS—For it's Boyd and Harris, Linn and Price,  
And Swartwout, they do say,  
Have toated off the Nation's cash,  
As lawful Loco prey.

Then up steps Amos grim and thin,  
With sick and ghastly look ;  
You never would have thought that he  
Was scullion and chief cook :—  
“ Now Matty, dear,” says he, “ I'm sure  
The game is up with us,  
Those cursed Whigs will beat us now,  
They kick up such a fuss.

CHORUS—About the outside quires and cash  
You'd think this Nation's broke,  
And Blair, and I, and Calhoun think,  
This time they do not joke.”

Says Blair to M—: “ Good President,  
I think it is unlucky,  
That I must streak it back again  
To teach school in Kentucky ;  
But go I must, for I am sure  
Our battles all are fought,  
And New York's favorite son is beat  
By sober second thought.

CHORUS—Now, Matty, do n't get sick, I'm sure  
We may as well clear out,  
And join the Locofoco Price  
And honest Sam Swartwout.”

And next says Paulding : “ I do wish  
To novels I had stuck,  
For writing them would ne'er have made  
Of me so lame a duck ;



Dear Matty, we must soon go back  
To quiet Kinderhook,  
And in your garret I will write  
Another shilling book."

A TIP-TOP SONG ABOUT TIPPECANOE.

'Tis the tip of the fashion for brave hearts and true  
To join in the shout for brave Tippecanoe;  
The soldier, the farmer, the statesman, the friend,  
Who fought at the Thames, and who lives at North Bend;  
Who gathered his laurels where bravely they grew,  
'Mid the slaughter and carnage of Tippecanoe;  
Tippecanoe, Tippecanoe!

An honest old soldier is Tippecanoe.

No parasite he at the footstool of power,  
To flatter and fawn for the rule of an hour,  
All honor and manliness basely to smother,  
And avow it his glory to follow another;  
O no, for our Hero is honest and true,  
And the tip-top of honor is Tippecanoe;  
Tippecanoe, Tippecanoe!

The tip-top of honor is Tippecanoe.

Though the frosts of old age may have whitened his brow,  
Yet the light of his deeds round his temples will glow  
Like the sun on a mountain, whose head in the sky  
Receives the first snow on its summit so high;  
But will show forth in majesty, beauty, and light,  
When the valleys below are all shrouded in night;  
Tippecanoe, Tippecanoe!

And thus stands the soldier, bold Tippecanoe.

Then join in the shout that has so loudly gone forth,  
From the East and the West, from the South and the North,  
From the prairies and lakes to the briny blue sea,  
The shout of the mighty, the bold, and the free—  
From the cold Granite State to warm, generous Lou-  
Isiana, the shout of Tippecanoe;

Tippecanoe, Tippecanoe!

The tip of all tips is brave Tippecanoe.

## THE GATHERING SONG.

BY H. GREELEY.

They 're rousing, they 're rousing in valley and glen,  
The noble in soul, and the fearless of heart;  
At Freedom's stern call, to the combat again  
They rush with a zeal she alone can impart,  
From wild Madawaska's dark forests of pine,  
To the far fertile glades where the calm Wabash flows.  
True sons of their fathers! the People combine,  
To shake off the chains of their tyrants and foes.

They 're gath'ring, they 're gath'ring on hillside and plain;  
They swarm every vale and o'ershadow each river;  
Each hamlet and dell is made vocal again  
With the soul-thrilling cry of "Our country forever!"  
The Flag of the Free to the breeze is unfurled;  
Around it they rally to guard its fair fame,  
And well may the foes of Corruption be bold  
In the glory and strength of their Harrison's name.

Where the noble Ohio in wild beauty sweeps,  
Where the swift Susquehanna bears onward its waves,  
And e'en where the Hudson in calm grandeur sleeps,  
There are thousands of freemen who scorn to be slaves.  
Arouse then, true hearts! to the battle once more!  
And the Spoilers shall quail at your gallant array!  
Despair fades behind us—Hope's morn dawns before!  
It will brighten full soon to a shadowless day!

## GOLD SPOONS vs. HARD CIDER.

In a Cabin made of logs,  
By the river side,  
There the Honest Farmer lives—  
Free from sloth and pride.  
To the gorgeous palace turn  
And his rival see,  
In his robes of regal state—  
Tinselled finery.

At the early morning light,  
 Starting with the sun—  
 See the farmer hold the plow  
 Till the day is done.  
 In his silken bed of down  
 Martin still must 'be ;  
 Menial servants waiting round  
 Dressed in livery.

See the farmer to his meal  
 Joyfully repair ;  
 Crackers, cheese, and cider too—  
 A hard but homely fare.  
 Martin to his breakfast comes  
 At the hour of noon ;  
 Sipping from a china cup,  
 With a golden spoon.

See the farmer pace his fields—  
 Mark his lightsome foot ;  
 Leaning now upon his staff  
 To catch a songster's note.  
 Martin's steeds impatient wait  
 At the palace door ;  
 Outriders behind the coach,  
 And lackeys on before.

#### THE BEST THING WE CAN DO.

TUNE—"Malbrouk."

The times are bad and want curing,  
 They are getting past all enduring ;  
 Let us turn out Martin Van Buren,  
 And put in old Tippecanoe.  
 The best thing we can do  
 Is to put in old Tippecanoe.  
 It's a business we all can take part in ;  
 So let us give notice to Martin  
 That he must get ready for starting,  
 For we'll put in old Tippecanoe.

A change of the Administration  
Will be for the good of the Nation,  
For it is now in a bad situation,  
    So we'll put in old Tippecanoe.  
    The best thing we can do  
    Is to put in old Tippecanoe;  
And send the whole posse a packing,  
Van Buren and all of his backing;  
For we've tried them and found them all lacking,  
    And we'll put in old Tippecanoe.

We've had of their humbugs a plenty,  
For now all our pockets are empty;  
We've a dollar now where we had twenty,  
    So we'll put in old Tippecanoe.  
    The best thing that we can do  
    Is to put in old Tippecanoe;  
For their roguery can't be defended,  
And it's time that their reign should be ended,  
We shall never see times mended  
    Till we put in Tippecanoe.

Uncle Sam hain't a cent in his purse now,  
And matters are still growing worse now;  
There's only one thing left for us now,  
    It's to put in old Tippecanoe.  
    The best thing we can do  
    Is to put in old Tippecanoe;  
For we are all of us going to ruin,  
As long as we keep such a crew in;  
So let us be up and a-doing,  
    And put in old Tippecanoe.

The following refined and delicate bit was picked up in one of the many searches after the spirit of the times:—

“Go it, Harrison,  
    Come it, Tyler,  
And we'll burst  
    Van Buren's biler.”

The following description of one of the strange Whig demonstrations in Tennessee is found in a book of reminiscences by Judge Guild, of Nashville:—

“A delegation of the Whig party from Indiana came to Nashville on the steamer *Rio*, with an Indian canoe and other partisan emblems to present to the Tippecanoe Club of this city. They also brought a cage containing a 'coon with patriotic flags all over it. The procession, which had been gotten up for the occasion, then marched to the log cabin which had that day been erected by thousands of Whigs, the principal workers being Hon. John Bell and Dr. Boyd McNairy. The 'coon was placed upon the top of the log cabin, and welcomed to the State by Mr. Bell, as the great leader of the party, who addressed him as ‘His Majesty.’ The Whig papers described the scene as a splendid pageant, while other journals made light of it. The old ‘Banner’ quoted the refrain:—

“‘Possum up a gum tree,  
Cooney in the hollow.’

“Harris, editor of the ‘Union,’ replied:—

“‘Whiggies to the rescue,  
Cooney in a cage;  
Go it with a rush, boys,  
Go it with a rage.

“‘Mum’ is the word, boys,  
Brag is the game;  
Cooney is the emblem  
Of old Tip’s fame.

Go it then for cooney—  
Cooney in a cage;  
Go it with a rush, boys,  
Go it with a rage.’

. . . “There never was a greater party delusion during that successful campaign of the great Whig party



than the emblematic displays they made. There was no attempt on their part to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of a government. With their cider-barrels on wheels, the rolling of big balls, their 'coons in cages, their 'coon-skin caps and the log cabin or caucus hall, together with their uniformed companies, with 'coon-skins dangling from their heads to their waists, carrying flags by day and transparencies by night, they completely overwhelmed all argument, carried the masses along with them, and defeated Van Buren by an overwhelming majority. Looking back upon that scene of remarkable excitement it is difficult for one to believe his own recollection of the sheer nonsense that so completely captivated and led the great majority of the American people; yet it all stands as the undoubted history of the most astonishing popular delusion that ever seized upon the people of this country, so noted for their intelligence and sagacity."

A. P. Russell in his memoir of Thomas Corwin says :—

"No American of fifty, especially if he was a denizen of the West, could forget the six wild months preceding the Presidential election in 1840. Financial distress was universal. Business was nearly suspended. The people, or a great majority of them, all at once came to believe that the Government, the party in power, was to blame for all their calamities. Every day in every part of the Republic they assembled in great crowds to be harangued on the crimes of their spendthrift President and his vicious minions. Where they all came from was a mystery. They gathered like the bees or birds; the instinct of the citizen and the impulse of the sovereign seemed to create them full-grown. . . . The intelligent were as wild as the ignorant. The whole season, from May till November, was one universal frolic. Happy the man who had the

talents for a stump orator! Abreast with the crowd he had but to wag his tongue, and he was deified."

But all of the campaign on the part of the Whigs was not made up of riotous foolishness and fuss, although the Democrats said it was, and it was indeed bad enough. There were several very ably edited papers in the country at that time which with great zeal presented the various subjects of dispute in the strongest possible light. Among these were "The National Intelligencer," "Albany Evening Journal," "Louisville Journal," and "The Cincinnati Gazette," on the Whig side. And all the lesser journals as well as several others of similar rank joined the common enthusiasm, and worked faithfully for the success of the ticket. At the head of the Democratic newspapers, perhaps, stood "The Globe," one of the most able newspapers of the country.

The Democrats made strong efforts to drive the Whigs to a single issue on the Bank question, but that they did not succeed in doing. The Whigs felt themselves strong at every point, and the many assailable features they found in the recent administrations of the Government they used to every advantage. The Democrats raised the ridiculous idea about Harrison's contentment in a log cabin; and the opposition at once set out in song and otherwise the cry that Van Buren was an aristocrat, and no friend of the people. The Whigs who had never been afraid of too great a growth of Executive power, when they were the possessors of the Executive, now believed they had discovered an alarming

tendency in the Democratic party to elevate and strengthen that branch of the Government to the detriment of the people. And although this charge was then foundationless and untenable, as it always has been since when applied to either party, they were in a condition to make the most of what it was quite evident the people were willing to accept as a fair issue in their behalf.

It was not fair then, much less has it been so in succeeding writers, to say that the Whigs were without principles in 1840, and that they merely shouted and sang their candidates into office. A Whig writer in 1844 said, in reviewing this contest, of the party principles :—

“The first, and immeasurably the greatest, was that which we have presented; namely, the reassertion of the fundamental doctrine of the Revolution of 1776, the protection of this Nation and its posterity against the imperious claims and mischievous precedents made and established by General Jackson and his partisans, to the enlargement of Executive and the diminution of legislative power.

“To this end the Whigs contended: For the single Presidential term; for the reduction of patronage; for the separation of the purse and sword; for the rigid supervision of all Executive officers by Congress; for free legislative debate and legislative comment on the conduct of all public officers; for the non-interference of Government officers in the elections; and for the modification of the veto power.

“These were all pervading, paramount questions. The Whigs of the Union were united upon them to a man. They had battled for them in and out of Congress, ever since 1830. The whole Nation understood how these

questions were identified with the Whig party. No man wanted a manifesto in 1840 to apprise him that these were fundamental, essential, and absorbing questions in the Whig movement. They had been proclaimed through every organ of Whig sentiment, in every form of iteration, for ten years. In importance, they were infinitely above every question of mere policy. They were organic, belonging to the structure of the Government. They concerned our posterity, as well as the present generation. They belonged to the perpetuation of free republican government, and the handing down of our institutions to our children as we received them from our fathers.

“The second aim of the Whig embodiment was to relieve the country from the evils of bad legislation with which it had been afflicted by the party in power.

“This was a purpose involving ordinary measures of legislation; a purpose of policy, of expediency, depending, in great degree, upon the incidents and occasions of the day, and subject to be influenced in some degree by local and temporary views.

“In this field, although a great and surprising approach to unanimity prevailed among the Whig party—considering the different impressions of sectional interest natural to so broad a surface as that covered by the States of the Union—yet entire consent of opinion, in reference to all measures of relief, never was expected. Nor was it asserted to exist.

“The leading measures proposed and advocated were: A protective tariff; distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; improvement of the face of the country by roads and canals; regulation of the currency through a national bank; and reduction of the public expenses.

“On these measures, it may be affirmed, nine-tenths of the Whig party were unanimous. In regard to some of them, a small number, it is true, were found dissenting.

“It is well known that the prejudices of Southern

opinion upon the tariff question, which equally prevailed among the Whigs and their opponents, had enlisted a portion of the Southern Whigs against the protective system, and, as connected with it, the question of the distribution.

“A still smaller division of the Whigs have opposed a national bank.

“It may be a question for metaphysicians to divert themselves with—to what extent are these small dissenting fragments of the Whig party entitled to be called Whigs; but it will never be one of doubt, while those fragments concur in the great and primary object of Whig organization, that their attachment to the Whig party is worthy of the praise of an exalted patriotism, the more exalted as it consents to waive and forego its wishes in regard to the comparatively minor questions of policy, for the sake of the graver and more enduring principles of free government which it finds in jeopardy.

“These divisions of opinion among the Whigs were never secret, nor desired to be made secret. There can be no better proof of the integrity of a party than such tokens of its independence as are afforded by the frank and open avowal of dissent where unanimity does not exist. Such dissent presents no other question than this: Is the dissenting point of sufficient preponderance to overweigh other motives to concur? If not, the concurrence may be sincere and effective. It has been so in the contest ever since 1830. All through that contest the Whigs have had occasion to feel that, in the brotherhood of their Southern friends, they have derived all the aid and comfort to their cause which a generous gallantry and the purest love of country could bestow.

“Could it be said that the Whig party had no principles because it did not choose to cast the issue of its great contest upon these minor questions, wherein some dissent existed rather than upon those broad doctrines where all were united? Was it not, as I have said an,



ingenious stratagem of the enemy, when he sought to drive us into the narrow fold of these questions of expediency, while we stood already behind the bulwarks of high political rights? Should we not have been laughed at as shallow simpletons if we had crept into such a gull-trap?

“As we did not choose to hearken for advice to the enemy and make him the issue he desired, does not every one remember how assiduously he set about making it for us? Was there a forum in 1840, a bar-room, a cart-tail, a stump rostrum—was there a conventicle of quidnuncs, a street meeting, or a country gathering of our opponents in the whole convass—nay, was there any such in any previous time of the ten years before, that the burden of the charge against the Whigs was not that their great purpose was to establish a bank, make a protective tariff, and distribute the proceeds of the lands? Such universal consent of opinion as to the Whig designs, surely furnished no excuse to those who made the accusation, that we had left them in the dark as to our principles or measures.

“For our principles and measures we gave them an open history of ten years’ active labor. In that history, written on every page of our public journals, and proclaimed in the trumpet-notes of the most eloquent men of the land, they might read, and did read, better than in any manifesto, what we aimed at and what we meant to fight for. It is the sheer hypocrisy of your scurvy politician to affect not to see what was so easy to be seen—so much intended and contrived to be seen. And miserable cant was it, in that day of 1840, to complain that the Whig army came into the field bannerless and objectless, or having no written motto on their banner and no avowed object in their war.

“Our principles then, as now, were known at every fireside in the Union.”

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE LOG-CABIN CAMPAIGN—THE ELECTION—EXTRAORDINARY CEREMONIES—PRESIDENT HARRISON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

ALTHOUGH President Van Buren had never crossed the devious path of Congress, General Jackson's use of the veto had greatly scandalized the Democracy. Something must be done to save the liberties of the country. So the Whigs argued; and this was an important theme in the campaign. But the true history of the veto power in the party struggles of the country is simply that it has been good, and without danger to the principles and purposes of the party it served at the time, and was evil and a just ground of alarm to the party whose purposes it defeated. But in this fact is to be found the key to many of the old party feuds.

Some of the ingenious Whigs set forth, during this campaign, the following eighteen interesting reasons for the support and election of General Harrison:—

“1. Because he is pledged to serve, if elected, but one term.

“2. Every prominent act of his life proves him to be a friend and servant of his country, and a sterling Democratic Republican in theory and practice.

"3. He would confine the action of the Federal Government to its own appropriate sphere, check its monarchical tendencies, and maintain the balance of the Constitution.

"4. He would be the President of the many, and not the agent of the few.

"5. He is one of the people, and for the people. He sympathizes with their wants, and understands their interests. He agrees that 'acquiescence in the decisions of the majority is the vital principle of republics.' He would exercise a 'jealous care of the right of election by the people,' and impart 'equal and exact justice to all men' and all sections. It is regarded as an evidence of his belonging to the people, that their enemies call him, in derision, 'The Log-cabin Candidate,' and 'The Poor Man's President.'

"6. He would have the public purse not united with the sword, but kept in safety under the control of Congress, as intended by the Constitution.

"7. He agrees that the Executive power has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and will give his disinterested efforts to remedy the evil.

"8. He would preserve or apply the public lands, as a common fund, in accordance with the compact, for the benefit of all, and not a part, of the States.

"9. He would restore the Constitutional and republican course of legislation; act as the executor, not the originator, of laws, and limit the veto power generally to cases of doubt.

"10. He would, to use the language of Jefferson, 'support the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.'

"11. He would not seek an Executive bank, nor renew the exploded system of Government paper money.

"12. He is the friend of labor, of commerce, and of

trade; and the advocate of a sound and uniform Constitutional currency.

"13. He has spent forty years of faithful toil in the people's service, which he began in youth and affluence, and ended in poverty without reproach.

"14. He would bring to the administration of the Government an enlightened mind, comprehensive views, a magnanimous policy, and an honest heart; and rest the merit of his Administration upon the degree of good accomplished for the greatest number.

"15. He is the father of the beneficent land system of the West, and the author of numerous laws and treaties worthy of an eminent statesman and diplomatist.

"16. His life is a history of the West; and for his pre-eminent and self-sacrificing services as a soldier, as a Territorial Secretary, as a delegate, Representative, and Senator in Congress, as a Governor, as a General, a hero, a diplomatist, a statesman, a scholar, an honest man, and patriot, he deserves the gratitude of his countrymen.

"17. He would reform and purify the departments of Government, appoint honest and capable men to office, and stop the leak in the Treasury.

"18. In view of the great importance of the crisis, General Harrison is the man reserved and qualified, as it would seem, by Providence for the occasion, to fill the high hope and destiny of the country."

This array of reasons might have satisfied anybody not especially concerned in the loss of spoils; and one, at least, of these reasons is lofty enough to suit the most exalted taste. But General Harrison was, in the common way of speaking, really a good man, and others beside the Whigs honestly felt that his success would secure many benefits to the country. This honest conviction was verified when the votes

were counted, and it was found that thousands of Democrats had been captured by "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

The magnanimous Henry S. Foote gives substantially the following story of the Harrison campaign in 1840:—

"Judge James C. Mitchell, of Tennessee, was, at the outset, opposed to the nomination of General Harrison, deeming him a man of very ordinary ability; but before long he was thundering the praises of 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too' amidst log-cabins, 'coon-skins, and barrels of hard cider. On one of these occasions he displayed unusual partisan art. A Democrat had accused Harrison of being an idiot and a coward, and backed the assertion by stating that he was himself present at the battle of Tippecanoe, where the General's conduct was reprehensible. Judge Mitchell obtained the name of this vilifier, and, finding that he was present at one of his meetings, called out his name, when this dialogue ensued:—

"*Judge Mitchell.*—Did you say that you were at the battle of Tippecanoe, and that you saw General Harrison display evidences of cowardice?"

"*Democrat.*—I did."

"*Judge Mitchell.*—Did you see me there, sir?" (staring furiously at the man.)

"*Democrat.*—I do not remember seeing you."

"*Judge Mitchell.*—Yet, sir, I was there, and was by General Harrison's side throughout that scene; and, if you had really been present, you could not have failed to see me.' Then, turning to the crowd, he exclaimed: 'See, fellow-citizens, how easily this liar has been refuted. So perish all the calumniators of the immortal hero of Tippecanoe.'"

The result of the election on the second Tuesday in November was soon known throughout the country,



and except among the office-holders and the more intense Democrats the acquiescence was very general. There were the usual speculations as to the composition of the new Cabinet, and the fresh hungry tide of office-seekers set in toward North Bend. The President elect actually made a trip to Lexington, Kentucky, with a view of inducing Mr. Clay to become a member of his Cabinet. But Mr. Clay declined, and urged the appointment of Mr. Webster to the State Department, as a step most likely to give strength to the new Administration. This advice Harrison accepted. His next laborious movement was in making a journey to Virginia in the hope of putting the people of his native State in a better frame of mind as to his purposes, and the charge of Abolitionism which had been brought against him.

At last, after an interval of great labor, excitement, and anxiety, about the 1st of February, 1841, General Harrison set out from North Bend on his journey to Washington City. It was a journey of great and pleasant excitements to him. No man, save General Jackson, appreciated and approved popular ebullitions more than Harrison. On the afternoon of February 9th he reached the Capital; and from the railroad, with hat in hand, walked to the City Hall, where he was received by the mayor, W. W. Seaton, one of the editors of "The National Intelligencer." He then took up his quarters at Gadsby's Hotel, and not long subsequently announced the names of his Cabinet Ministers.

Soon after arriving in Washington, General Har-

arrison called on the President, according to the established usage in such cases. Mr. Van Buren invited him to dine with him, and the invitation was accepted. At this dinner Harrison is said to have asked Mr. Benton not to harpoon him, but Webster and Clay, if anything happened in the administration of affairs which he did not like. Mr. Van Buren was wonderfully impressed with his successor, and thought him a very remarkable man.

The Calhoun men of the South found great fault with the selection of Mr. Webster for the Cabinet; but Wm. C. Rives, Henry A. Wise, and others, defended General Harrison in this step. Mr. Webster had done and said enough to show the South that he would not stand in the way of the slavery interests of that section; and this fact his friends did not neglect to bring out effectively.

On the 10th of February, 1841, the Senate having entered the hall of the House, Richard M. Johnson took the Speaker's Chair, and Mr. Hunter, the Speaker, sat on his left. Mr. Preston, of the Senate, and Mr. Cushing and John W. Jones, on the part of the House, were the tellers. The Vice-President broke the seals of the electoral returns, beginning with Maine, and the count of the votes for President and Vice-President began. Of the two hundred and ninety-four votes, two hundred and thirty-four were found to be for General Harrison, and sixty for Martin Van Buren, for President of the United States; for Vice-President, John Tyler had two hundred and thirty-four votes, Richard M. Johnson

forty-eight votes, Littleton Waller Tazewell, of Virginia, eleven votes, and James K. Polk one vote. The Vice-President then declared that William Henry Harrison and John Tyler were elected President and Vice-President for four years, beginning March 4, 1841.

Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, and Michigan cast their votes for Harrison and Tyler; and New Hampshire, Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, and South Carolina gave their votes to Mr. Van Buren. Virginia this time gave twenty-two of her votes to R. M. Johnson, and one vote to James K. Polk, for Vice-President; and South Carolina threw away her votes on Mr. Tazewell for the same office. The Abolitionists received no electoral vote, but they had 7,059 votes at the polls.

The following description of the inauguration of President Harrison is taken from the "Atlantic Monthly:"—

"At ten o'clock a procession was formed, which escorted the President-elect from his temporary residence to the Treasury Department, and thence along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. There were no regular troops on parade, but the uniformed militia companies of the District of Columbia performed escort duty in a very creditable manner. A carriage presented by the Whigs of Baltimore, and drawn by four horses, had been provided for General Harrison, but he preferred to ride on horse-

back, as the Roman emperors passed along the Appian Way, and the old hero made a fine appearance, mounted on a spirited white charger, attended by a staff of mounted marshals. Although the weather was chilly, the General refused to wear an overcoat, and rode with his hat in his hand, bowing acknowledgments of the cheers of the multitudes on the sidewalks. Behind the President-elect came Tippecanoe clubs and other political associations, with music, banners, and badges. The club from Prince George County, Maryland, had in its ranks a large platform on wheels, drawn by six white horses, on which was a power-loom from the Laurel factory, with operatives at work under the direction of their superintendent, General Horace Capron. Several of the clubs escorted log cabins on wheels, decked with suitable inscriptions, cider-barrels, 'coon-skins, and various frontier articles. A feature of the procession was the students of the Jesuits' College, at Georgetown, who appeared in uniform, headed by their faculty, and carrying a beautiful banner.

"The Senate Chamber at the Capitol was meanwhile filled to overflowing, and nearly all of the prominent dignitaries of the country were present. On one side Scott, Gaines, Macomb, and Wool were the leaders of a brilliant group of officers in full uniform, calling up associations connected with our proud days of triumph, whilst on the opposite side of the hall were the nominated members of the Cabinet, inspiring auguries not less cheering of future prosperity and glory. The diplomatic corps made a striking appearance, half covered with the richest embroidery in gold and silver, and the insignia of their various orders, while near them, and in strong contrast with them, were the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, wearing black silk robes.

"At twelve o'clock John Tyler, Vice-President elect, took his oath of office, and was escorted to the chair, where he delivered his brief inaugural address with great

dignity. Soon after he had concluded General Harrison entered the Senate Chamber, and took the seat assigned for him. His bodily health appeared to be perfect, and there was an alertness in his movements which was quite astonishing, considering his advanced age, the multiplied hardships through which he had passed, and the fatigues he had lately undergone.

“A procession was formed in the Senate Chamber, which moved on through the rotunda out on the temporary platform erected over the steps of the eastern entrance to the Capitol. On this platform seats had been provided for the military and civic dignitaries, with many distinguished citizens, intermingled with a great company of ladies. In the space before the Capitol was a solid mass of humanity, variously estimated to contain from thirty to forty thousand. Happy was he who could climb upon an iron railing or a stone post, to obtain a better sight of the expected pageant! All such places were filled with clinging occupants, while others ascended the trees on the square, whose denuded branches afforded an unobstructed prospect. On the verge of the crowd were drawn up carriages filled with ladies, while here and there peered up a staff bearing the pacific banner of a Tippecanoe club. At last a deafening shout announced the arrival of General Harrison, who became ‘the observed of all observers.’

“When the uproar had subsided, General Harrison advanced to the front of the platform, and there was a profound stillness as he proceeded to read, in a loud and clear voice, his inaugural address. He read from his manuscript, standing bareheaded, without an overcoat or gloves, facing the cold northeast wind, while those seated on the platform around him, although warmly wrapped up, suffered from the piercing blasts.

“As he touched on successive topics lying near the heart of the people, the sympathy of his audience with his sentiments was manifested by shouts which broke



forth from time to time. When he had nearly concluded, the oath of office was administered to him by Chief-Justice Taney, and the pealing cannon announced to the country that it had a new Chief Magistrate.

“Again declining to ride in his carriage, President Harrison remounted his horse, and was escorted by the military to the White House, cheered by the immense crowds which lined Pennsylvania Avenue, while the ladies at the windows waved their handkerchiefs. On reaching the White House the President held a reception for three hours, during which time he was constantly shaking hands with the multitude which surged past him. At night there were three inauguration balls, each one receiving a visit from the new President, who was greeted with the warmest demonstrations of respect.”

Of this inauguration on the 4th of March, 1841, thus wrote John Quincy Adams:—

“The inauguration of William Henry Harrison as President of the United States was celebrated with demonstrations of popular feeling unexampled since that of Washington in 1789, and at the same time with so much order and tranquillity that not the slightest symptom of conflicting passions occurred to disturb the enjoyments of the day. Many thousands of the people from the adjoining and considerable numbers from distant States had come to witness the ceremony. The procession, consisting of a mixed military and civil cavalcade, and platoons of voluntary militia companies, Tippecanoe clubs, students of colleges, and school-boys, with about half a dozen veterans who had fought under the hero in the War of 1812, with sundry awkward and ungainly painted banners, and log cabins, without any carriages or showy dresses, was characteristic of the democracy of our institutions; while the perfect order with which the whole scene was performed,

and the absence of all pageantry, was highly creditable to them. The numbers were not comparable to those of the military assemblage at Baltimore upon the reception of La Fayette in 1824; nor was there now anything of the pride, pomp, and circumstance of that day. General Harrison was on a mean-looking white horse, in the center of seven others, in a plain frock-coat or surtout, undistinguishable from any of those before, behind, or around him. He proceeded thus to the Capitol, where, from the top of the flight of steps at the eastern front, he read his inaugural address, occupying about an hour in the delivery, and before pronouncing the last paragraph of which, the oath of office was administered to him by Chief-Justice Taney. The procession then returned to the President's house, and he retired to his chamber while an immense crowd of people filled for an hour or more all the lower rooms of the house."

### HARRISON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

*March 4, 1841.*

Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life, to fill the Chief Executive office of this great and free Nation, I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oath which the Constitution prescribes as a necessary qualification for the performance of its duties. And in obedience to a custom coeval with our Government, and what I believe to be your expectations, I proceed to present to you a summary of the principles which will govern me in the discharge of the duties which I shall be called upon to perform.

It was the remark of a Roman consul, in an early period of that celebrated republic, that a most striking contrast was observable in the conduct of candidates for offices of power and trust, before and after obtaining them—they seldom carrying out in the latter case the pledges and promises made in the former. However much the world may have improved, in

many respects, in the lapse of upward of two thousand years since the remark was made by the virtuous and indignant Roman, I fear that a strict examination of the annals of some of the modern elective governments would develop similar instances of violated confidence.

Although the fiat of the people has gone forth, proclaiming me the Chief Magistrate of this glorious Union, nothing upon their part remaining to be done, it may be thought that a motive may exist to keep up the delusion under which they may be supposed to have acted in relation to my principles and opinions; and perhaps there may be some in this assembly who have come here either prepared to condemn those I shall now deliver, or, approving them, to doubt the sincerity with which they are uttered. But the lapse of a few months will confirm or dispel their fears. The outline of principles to govern and measures to be adopted by an Administration not yet begun will soon be exchanged for immutable history, and I shall stand either exonerated by my countrymen, or classed with the mass of those who promised that they might deceive, and flattered with the intention to betray.

However strong may be my present purpose to realize the expectations of a magnanimous and confiding people, I too well understand the infirmities of human nature, and the dangerous temptations to which I shall be exposed, from the magnitude of the power which it has been the will of the people to commit to my hands, not to place my chief confidence upon the aid of that Almighty Power which has hitherto protected me, and enabled me to bring to favorable issues other important but still greatly inferior trusts, heretofore confided to me by my country.

The broad foundation upon which our Constitution rests being the people—a breath of theirs having made, as a breath can unmake, change, or modify it—it can be assigned to none of the great divisions of government but to that of democracy. If such is its theory, those who are called upon to administer it must recognize as its leading principle the duty of shaping their measures so as to produce the greatest good to the greatest number. But with these broad admissions, if we could compare the sovereignty acknowledged to exist in the mass of the

people with the power claimed by other sovereignties, even by those who have been considered most purely democratic, we shall find a most essential difference. All others lay claim to power limited only by their own will. The majority of our citizens, on the contrary, possess a sovereignty with an amount of power precisely equal to that which has been granted to them by the parties to the national compact, and nothing beyond. We admit of no government by divine right; believing that so far as power is concerned, the beneficent Creator has made no distinction among men, that all are upon an equality, and that the only legitimate right to govern is an express grant of power from the governed. The Constitution of the United States is the instrument containing the grant of power to the several Departments composing the Government. On an examination of that instrument, it will be found to contain declarations of power granted, and of power withheld. The latter is also susceptible of division into power which the majority had the right to grant, but which they did not think proper to intrust to their agents, and that which they could not have granted, not being possessed by themselves. In other words, there are certain rights possessed by each individual American citizen, which, in his compact with the others, he has never surrendered. Some of them, indeed, he is unable to surrender; being, in the language of our system, inalienable.

The boasted privilege of a Roman citizen was to him a shield only against a petty provincial ruler, while the proud democrat of Athens could console himself under a sentence of death for a supposed violation of the national faith, which no one understood, and which at times was the subject of the mockery of all, or of banishment from his home, his family, and his country, with or without an alleged cause; that it was the act, not of a single tyrant, or hated aristocracy, but of his assembled countrymen. Far different is the power of our sovereignty. It can interfere with no one's faith, prescribe forms of worship for no one's observance, inflict no punishment but after well-ascertained guilt, the result of investigation under forms prescribed by the Constitution itself. These precious privileges, and those scarcely less important of giving expression to his thoughts and opinions, either by writing or speaking, unrestrained but by



the liability for injury to others, and that of a full participation in all the advantages which flow from the Government, the acknowledged property of all, the American citizen derives from no charter granted from his fellow-men. He claims them because he is himself a man, fashioned by the same Almighty Hand as the rest of his species, and entitled to a full share of the blessings with which he has endowed them.

Notwithstanding the limited sovereignty possessed by the people of the United States, and the restricted grant of power to the Government which they have adopted, enough has been given to accomplish all the objects for which it was created. It has been found powerful in war, and, hitherto, justice has been administered, an intimate union effected, domestic tranquillity preserved, and personal liberty secured to the citizen. As was to be expected, however, from the defect of language and the necessarily sententious manner in which the Constitution is written, disputes have arisen as to the amount of power which it has actually granted, or was intended to grant. This is more particularly the case in relation to that part of the instrument which treats of the legislative branch. And not only as regards the exercise of powers claimed under a general clause, giving that body the authority to pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the specified powers, but in relation to the latter also. It is, however, consolatory to reflect that *most* of the instances of alleged departure from the letter or spirit of the Constitution have ultimately received the sanction of a majority of the people. And the fact that many of our statesmen, most distinguished for talent and patriotism, have been, at one time or other of their political career, on both sides of each of the most warmly disputed questions, forces upon us the inference that the errors, if errors there were, are attributable to the intrinsic difficulty, in many instances, of ascertaining the intentions of the framers of the Constitution, rather than the influence of any sinister or unpatriotic motive.

But the great danger to our institutions does not appear to me to be in a usurpation by the Government of power not granted by the people, but by the accumulation in one of the Departments of that which was assigned to others. Limited as are powers which have been granted, still enough have been



granted to constitute a despotism, if concentrated in one of the Departments. This danger is greatly heightened, as it has always been observable that men are less jealous of encroachments of one Department upon another than upon their own reserved rights.

When the Constitution of the United States first came from the hands of the convention which formed it, many of the sternest republicans of the day were alarmed at the extent of the power which had been granted to the Federal Government, and more particularly of that portion which had been assigned to the Executive branch. There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy, or republic. And, knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the Government would terminate in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures, and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the Government to its pristine health and vigor, as far as this can be effected by any legitimate exercise of the power placed in my hands.

I proceed to state, in as summary a manner as I can, my opinion of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the correctives which may be applied. Some of the former are unquestionably to be found in the defects of the Constitution; others, in my judgment, are attributable to misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the eligibility of the same individual to a second term of the Presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error; and attempts have been made, hitherto without success, to apply the amendatory power of the States to its correction.

As, however, one mode of correction is in the power of every President, and consequently in mine, it would be useless,

and perhaps invidious, to enumerate the evils of which, in the opinion of many of our fellow-citizens, this error of the sages who framed the Constitution may have been the source and the bitter fruits which we are still to gather from it, if it continues to disfigure our system. It may be observed, however, as a general remark, that republics can commit no greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in their systems of Government which may be calculated to create or increase the love of power in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs. And surely nothing is more likely to produce such a state of mind than the long continuance of an office of high trust. Nothing can be more corrupting, nothing more destructive of all those noble feelings which belong to the character of a devoted republican patriot. When this corrupting passion once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gold, it becomes insatiable. It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, grows with his growth, and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this is true, it is the part of wisdom for a republic to limit the service of that officer, at least, to whom she has intrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal—the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the Constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that, under no circumstances, will I consent to serve a second term.

But if there is danger to public liberty from the acknowledged defects of the Constitution, in the want of limit to the continuance of the Executive power in the same hands, there is, I apprehend, not much less from a misconstruction of that instrument, as it regards the powers actually given. I can not conceive that, by a fair construction, any or either of its provisions would be found to constitute the President a part of the legislative power. It can not be claimed from the power to recommend, since, although enjoined as a duty upon him, it is a privilege which he holds in common with every other citizen. And although there may be something more of confidence in

the propriety of the measures recommended in the one case than in the other, in the obligations of ultimate decision there can be no difference. In the language of the Constitution, "all the legislative powers" which it grants "are vested in the Congress of the United States." It would be a solecism in language to say that any portion of these is not included in the whole.

It may be said, indeed, that the Constitution has given to the Executive the power to annul the acts of the legislative body by refusing to them his assent. So a similar power has necessarily resulted from that instrument to the judiciary; and yet the judiciary forms no part of the Legislature. There is, it is true, this difference between these grants of power: The Executive can put his negative upon the acts of the Legislature for other cause than that of want of conformity to the Constitution, while the judiciary can only declare void those which violate that instrument. But the decision of the judiciary is final in such a case, whereas, in every instance where the veto of the Executive is applied, it may be overcome by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress. The negative upon the acts of the legislative by the Executive authority, and that in the hands of one individual, would seem to be an incongruity in our system. Like some others of a similar character, however, it appears to be highly expedient; and if used only with the forbearance and in the spirit which was intended by its authors, it may be productive of great good, and be found one of the best safeguards to the Union.

At the period of the formation of the Constitution the principle does not appear to have enjoyed much favor in the State governments. It existed but in two, and in one of these there was a plural executive. If we would search for the motives which operated upon the purely patriotic and enlightened assembly which framed the Constitution for the adoption of a provision so apparently repugnant to the leading democratic principle, that the majority should govern, we must reject the idea that they anticipated from it any benefit to the ordinary course of legislation. They knew too well the high degree of intelligence which existed among the people, and the enlightened character of the State Legislatures, not to have the

fullest confidence that the two bodies elected by them would be worthy representatives of such constituents, and, of course, that they would require no aid in conceiving and maturing the measures which the circumstances of the country might require. And it is preposterous to suppose that a thought could for a moment have been entertained that the President, placed at the Capital, in the center of the country, could better understand the wants and wishes of the people than their own immediate representatives, who spend a part of every year among them, living with them, often laboring with them, and bound to them by the triple tie of interest, duty, and affection. To assist or control Congress, then, in its ordinary legislation, could not, I conceive, have been the motive for conferring the veto power on the President. This argument acquires additional force from the fact of its never having been thus used by the first six presidents—and two of them were members of the convention, one presiding over its deliberations, and the other having a larger share in consummating the labors of that august body than any other person. But if bills were never returned to Congress by either of the presidents above referred to, upon the ground of their being inexpedient, or not as well adapted as they might be to the wants of the people, the veto was applied upon that of want of conformity to the Constitution, or because errors had been committed from a too hasty enactment.

There is another ground for the adoption of the veto principle which had probably more influence in recommending it to the convention than any other. I refer to the security which it gives to the just and equitable action of the Legislature upon all parts of the Union. It could not but have occurred to the convention that, in a country so extensive, embracing so great a variety of soil and climate, and, consequently, of products, and which, from the same causes, must ever exhibit a great difference in the amount of the population of its various sections, calling for a great diversity in the employments of the people, that the legislation of the majority might not always justly regard the rights and interests of the minority; and acts of this character might be passed under an express grant by the words of the Constitution, and, therefore, not within the competency of the judiciary to declare void; that however



enlightened and patriotic they might suppose, from past experience, the members of Congress might be, and however largely partaking in general of the liberal feelings of the people, it was impossible to expect that bodies so constituted should not sometimes be controlled by local interests and sectional feelings. It was proper, therefore, to provide some umpire, from whose situation and mode of appointment more independence and freedom from such influences might be expected. Such a one was afforded by the Executive Department, constituted by the Constitution. A person elected to that high office, having his constituents in every section, State, and subdivision of the Union, must consider himself bound by the most solemn sanctions to guard, protect, and defend the rights of all, and of every portion, great or small, from the injustice and oppression of the rest. I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the Constitution to the Executive of the United States, solely as a conservative power—to be used only, first, to protect the Constitution from violation; secondly, the people from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded, or not well understood; and, thirdly, to prevent the effects of combinations violative of the rights of the minorities. In reference to the second of these objects, I may observe that I consider it the right and privilege of the people to decide disputed points of the Constitution arising from the general grant of power to Congress to carry into effect the powers expressly given. And I believe, with Mr. Madison, “that repeated recognitions, under varied circumstances, in acts of the legislative, Executive, and judicial branches of the Government, accompanied by indications in different modes of the concurrence of the general will of the Nation, afford to the President sufficient authority for his considering such disputed point as settled.”

Upward of half a century has elapsed since the adoption of our present form of Government. It would be an object more highly desirable than the gratification of the curiosity of speculative statesmen, if its precise situation could be ascertained, a fair exhibit made of the operations of each of its Departments, of the powers which they respectively claim and exercise, of the collisions which have occurred between them, or between



the whole Government and those of the States, or either of them. We could then compare our actual condition, after fifty years' trial of our system, with what it was in the commencement of its operations, and ascertain whether the predictions of the patriots, who opposed its adoption, or the confident hopes of its advocates, have been best realized. The great dread of the former seems to have been that the reserved powers of the State would be absorbed by those of the Federal Government, and a consolidated power established, leaving to the States the shadow only of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended, and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of liberty. Without denying that the result to which they looked with so much apprehension is in the way of being realized, it is obvious that they did not clearly see the mode of its accomplishment. The General Government has seized upon none of the reserved rights of the States. As far as any open warfare may have gone, the State authorities have amply maintained their rights. To a casual observer, our system presents no appearance of discord between the different members which compose it. Even the addition of many new ones has produced no jarring. They move in their respective orbits in perfect harmony with the central head, and with each other. But there is still an under-current at work by which, if not seasonably checked, the worst apprehensions of our anti-federal patriots will be realized. And not only will the State authorities be overshadowed by the great increase of power in the Executive Department of the General Government, but the character of that Government, if not its designation, be essentially and radically changed. This state of things has been, in part, effected by causes inherent in the Constitution, and, in part, by the never-failing tendency of political power to increase itself.

By making the President the sole distributor of all the patronage of the Government, the framers of the Constitution do not appear to have anticipated at how short a period it would become a formidable instrument to control the free operations of the State governments. Of trifling importance at first, it had, early in Mr. Jefferson's Administration, become so

powerful as to create great alarm in the mind of that patriot, from the potent influence it might exert in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise. If such could have then been the effects of its influence, how much greater must be the danger at this time, quadrupled in amount, as it certainly is, and more completely under the control of the Executive will, than their construction of their powers allowed, or the forbearing characters of all the early Presidents permitted them to make! But it is not by the extent of its patronage alone that the Executive Department has become dangerous, but by the use which it appears may be made of the appointing power, to bring under its control the whole revenues of the country. The Constitution has declared it to be the duty of the President to see that the laws are executed; and it makes him the Commander-in-chief of the armies and Navy of the United States. If the opinion of the most approved writers upon that species of mixed government, which, in modern Europe, is termed *monarchy*, in contradistinction to *despotism*, is correct, there was wanting no other addition to the powers of our Chief Magistrate to stamp a monarchical character on our Government but the control of the public finances. And to me it appears strange indeed that any one should doubt that the entire control which the President possesses over the officers who have the custody of the public money, by the power of removal with or without cause, does, for all mischievous purposes, at least, virtually subject the treasure also to his disposal.

The first Roman emperor, in his attempt to seize the sacred treasure, silenced the opposition of the officer to whose charge it had been committed, by a significant allusion to his sword. By a selection of political instruments for the care of the public money, a reference to their commissions by a President would be quite as effectual an argument as that of Cæsar to the Roman knight. I am not insensible of the great difficulty that exists in devising a proper plan for the safe-keeping and disbursement of the public revenues, and I know the importance which has been attached by men of great abilities and patriotism to the divorce, as it is called, of the Treasury from the banking institutions. It is not the divorce which is complained of, but the unhallowed union of the Treasury with the

Executive Department which has created such extensive alarm. To this danger to our republican institutions, and that created by the influence given to the Executive through the instrumentality of the federal officers, I propose to apply all the remedies which may be at my command. It was certainly a great error in the framers of the Constitution, not to have made the officer at the head of the Treasury Department entirely independent of the Executive. He should at least have been removable only upon the demand of the popular branch of the Legislature. I have determined never to remove a Secretary of the Treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress. The influence of the Executive, in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise through the medium of the public officers, can be effectually checked by renewing the prohibition published by Mr. Jefferson, forbidding their interference in elections further than giving their own votes; and their own independence secured by an assurance of perfect immunity in exercising this sacred privilege of freemen under the dictates of their own unbiased judgments. Never, with my consent, shall an officer of the people, compensated for his services out of their pockets, become the pliant instrument of Executive will.

There is no part of the means placed in the hands of the Executive which might be used with greater effect for unhallowed purposes than the control of the public press. The maxim which our ancestors derived from the mother country, that "the freedom of the press is the great bulwark of civil and religious liberty," is one of the most precious legacies which they left us. We have learned, too, from our own as well as the experience of other countries, that golden shackles, by whomsoever or by whatever pretense imposed, are as fatal to it as the iron bonds of despotism. The presses in the necessary employment of the Government should never be used "to clear the guilty or to varnish crimes." A decent and manly examination of the acts of the Government should be not only tolerated but encouraged.

Upon another occasion I have given my opinion, at some length, upon the impropriety of Executive interference in the

legislation of Congress; that the article in the Constitution making it the duty of the President to communicate information, and authorizing him to recommend measures, was not intended to make him the source of legislation, and, in particular, that he should never be looked to for schemes of finance. It would be very strange, indeed, that the Constitution should have strictly forbidden one branch of the Legislature from interfering in the origination of such bills, and that it should be considered proper that an altogether different Department of the Government should be permitted to do so. Some of our best political maxims and opinions have been drawn from our parent isle.

There are others, however, which can not be introduced in our system without singular incongruity, and the production of much mischief. And this I conceive to be one. No matter in which of the Houses of Parliament a bill may originate, nor by whom introduced, a minister or a member of the opposition, by the fiction of law, or rather of constitutional principle, the sovereign is supposed to have prepared it agreeably to his will, and then submitted it to Parliament for their advice and consent. Now, the very reverse is the case here, not only with regard to the principle but the forms prescribed by the Constitution. The principle certainly assigns to the only body constituted by the Constitution (the legislative body) the power to make laws, and the forms even direct that the enactment should be ascribed to them. The Senate, in relation to revenue bills, have the right to propose amendments; and so has the Executive, by the power given him to return them to the House of Representatives with his objections. It is in his power, also, to propose amendments in the existing laws, suggested by his observations upon their defective or injurious operation. But the delicate duty of devising schemes of revenue should be left where the Constitution has placed it, with the immediate representatives of the people. For similar reasons, the mode of keeping the public treasure should be prescribed by them; and the further removed it may be from the control of the Executive the more wholesome the arrangement, and the more in accordance with republican principle.

Connected with this subject is the character of the currency. The idea of making it exclusively metallic, however



well intended, appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme, having no relation to the personal rights of the citizen, that has ever been devised. If any single scheme could produce the effect of arresting at once that mutation of condition by which thousands of our most indigent fellow-citizens, by their industry and enterprise, are raised to the possession of wealth, that is the one. If there is one measure better calculated than another to produce that state of things so much deprecated by all true republicans, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and the poor sinking deeper into penury, it is an exclusive metallic currency. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase and necessary toleration of usury, it is an exclusive metallic currency.

Among the other duties of a delicate character which the President is called upon to perform, is the supervision of the Government of the Territories of the United States. Those of them which are destined to become members of our great political family are compensated by their rapid progress from infancy to manhood, for the partial and temporary deprivation of their political rights. It is in this District only where American citizens are to be found who, under a settled system of policy, are deprived of many important political privileges, without any inspiring hope as to the future. Their only consolation, under circumstances of such deprivation, is that of the devoted exterior guards of a camp; that their sufferings secure tranquillity and safety within.

Are there any of their countrymen who would subject them to greater sacrifices, to any other humiliations than those essentially necessary to the security of the object for which they were thus separated from their fellow-citizens? Are their rights alone not to be guaranteed by the application of those great principles upon which all our constitutions are founded? We are told by the greatest of British orators and statesmen that, at the commencement of the war of the Revolution, the most stupid men in England spoke of "their American subjects." Are there, indeed, citizens of any of our States who have dreamed of *their subjects* in the District of Columbia?



Such dreams can never be realized by any agency of mine. The people of the District of Columbia are not the subjects of the people of the States, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the Constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. If there is anything in the great principles of inalienable rights so emphatically insisted upon in our Declaration of Independence, they could neither make, nor the United States accept, a surrender of their liberties, and become the *subjects*, in other words, the slaves, of their former fellow-citizens. If this be true, and it will scarcely be denied by any one who has a correct idea of his own rights as an American citizen, the grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia can be interpreted, so far as respects the aggregate people of the United States, as meaning nothing more than to allow to Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the General Government by the Constitution. In all other respects, the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests.

I have spoken of the necessity of keeping the respective Departments of the Government, as well as all the other authorities of our country, within their appropriate orbits. This is a matter of difficulty in some cases, as the powers which they respectively claim are not defined by very distinct lines. Mischievous, however, in their tendencies, as collisions of this kind may be, those which arise between the respective communities which, for certain purposes, compose one nation, are much more so; for no such nation can long exist without the careful culture of those feelings of confidence and affection which are the effective bonds of union between free and confederate States. Strong as is the tie of interest, it has been often found ineffectual. Men, blinded by their passions, have been known to adopt measures for their country in direct opposition to all the suggestions of policy. The alternative, then, is to destroy or keep down a bad passion by creating and fostering a good one; and this seems to be the corner-stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Govern-

ment. The cement which was to bind it and perpetuate its existence was the affectionate attachment between all its members. To insure the continuance of this feeling, produced at first by a community of dangers, of sufferings, and of interests, the advantages of each were made accessible to all.

No participation in any good, possessed by any member of an extensive confederacy, except in domestic government, was withheld from the citizen of any other member. By a process attended with no difficulty, no delay, no expense but that of removal, the citizen of one might become the citizen of any other, and successively of the whole. The lines, too, separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one State from those of another seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each State unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they might claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as the citizen of two separate States, and *he is, therefore, positively precluded from any interference with the reserved powers of any State but that of which he is, for the time being, a citizen.* He may, indeed, offer to the citizens of other States his advice as to their management, and the form in which it is tendered is left to his own discretion and sense of propriety.

It may be observed, however, that organized associations of citizens requiring compliance with their wishes too much resemble the *recommendations* of Athens to her allies supported by an armed and powerful fleet. It was, indeed, the ambition of the leading States of Greece to control the domestic concerns of the others, that the destruction of that celebrated confederacy, and subsequently of all its members, is mainly to be attributed. And it is owing to the absence of that spirit that the Helvetic confederacy has for so many years been preserved. Never have there been seen in the institutions of the separate members of any confederacy more elements of discord. In the principles and forms of government and religion, as well as in the circumstances of the several cantons, so marked a discrepancy was observable as to promise any thing but harmony in their intercourse or permanency in their alliance. And yet, for ages, neither has been interrupted. Content with the positive

benefits which their union produced—with the independence and safety from foreign aggression which it secured—the sagacious people respected the institutions of each other, however repugnant to their own principles and prejudices.

Our confederacy, fellow-citizens, can only be preserved by the same forbearance. Our citizens must be content with the exercise of the powers with which the Constitution clothes them. The attempt of those of one State to control the domestic institutions of another, can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, and are certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and principles governing a common copartnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised under the direction of the joint counsels of the allied members, but that which has been reserved by the individuals is intangible by the common government or the individual members composing it. To attempt it finds no support in the principles of our Constitution. It should be our constant and earnest endeavor mutually to cultivate a spirit of concord and harmony among the various parts of our confederacy. Experience has abundantly taught us that the agitation by citizens of one part of the Union of a subject not confided to the General Government, but exclusively under the guardianship of the local authorities, is productive of no other consequences than bitterness, alienation, discord, and injury to the very cause which is intended to be advanced. Of all the great interests which appertain to our country, that of union—cordial, confiding, fraternal union—is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guarantee of all others.

In consequence of the embarrassed state of business and the currency, some of the States may meet with difficulty in their financial concerns. However deeply we may regret anything imprudent or excessive in the engagements into which States have entered for purposes of their own, it does not become us to disparage the State governments, nor to discourage them from making proper efforts for their own relief; on the contrary, it is our duty to encourage them, to the extent of our Constitutional authority, to apply their best means, and cheerfully to make all necessary sacrifices and submit to all necessary

burdens to fulfil their engagements and maintain their credit; for the character and credit of the several States form part of the character and credit of the whole country. The resources of the country are abundant, the enterprise and activity of our people proverbial; and we may well hope that wise legislation and prudent administration by the respective governments, each acting within its own sphere, will restore former prosperity.

Unpleasant and even dangerous as collisions may sometimes be between the constituted authorities or the citizens of our country, in relation to the lines which separate their respective jurisdictions, the result can be of no vital injury to our institutions, if that ardent patriotism, that devoted attachment to liberty, that spirit of moderation and forbearance for which our countrymen were once distinguished, continue to be cherished. If this continues to be the ruling passion of our souls, the weaker feelings of the mistaken enthusiast will be corrected, the Utopian dreams of the scheming politician dissipated, and the complicated intrigues of the demagogue rendered harmless. The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions receive. On the contrary, no care that can be used in the construction of our Government, no division of powers, no distribution of checks in its several Departments, will prove effectual to keep us a free people, if this spirit is suffered to decay; and decay it will without constant nurture. To the neglect of this duty, historians agree in attributing the ruin of all the republics with whose existence and fall their writings have made us acquainted. The same causes will ever produce the same effects; and as long as the love of power is a dominant passion of the human bosom, and as long as the understandings of men can be warped, and their affections changed by operations upon their passions and prejudices, so long will the liberty of a people depend on their own constant attention to its preservation.

The danger to all well-established free governments arises from the unwillingness of the people to believe in its existence, or from the influence of designing men, diverting their attention from the quarter whence it approaches to a source from which it can never come. This is the old trick of those who would usurp the government of their country. In the name of



democracy they speak, warning the people against the influence of wealth and the danger of aristocracy. History, ancient and modern, is full of such examples. Cæsar became the master of the Roman people and the Senate, under the pretense of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the aristocracy of the latter; Cromwell, in the character of protector of the liberties of the people, became the dictator of England; and Bolivar possessed himself of unlimited power, with the title of his country's liberator. There is, on the contrary, no single instance on record of an extensive and well-established republic being changed into an aristocracy. The tendency of all such governments in their decline is to monarchy; and the antagonist principle to liberty there is the spirit of faction—a spirit which assumes the character, and, in times of great excitement, imposes itself upon the people as the genuine spirit of freedom, and, like the false Christs whose coming was foretold by the Savior, seeks to, and were it possible would, impose upon the true and most faithful disciples of liberty. It is in periods like this that it behooves the people to be most watchful of those to whom they have intrusted power. And although there is at times much difficulty in distinguishing the false from the true spirit, a calm and dispassionate investigation will detect the counterfeit, as well by the character of its operations as the results that are produced. The true spirit of liberty, although devoted, persevering, bold, and uncompromising in principle—that secured, is mild, and tolerant, and scrupulous as to the means it employs; while the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant, and totally reckless as to the character of the allies which it brings to the aid of its cause. When the genuine spirit of liberty animates the body of a people to a thorough examination of their affairs, it leads to the excision of every excrescence which may have fastened itself upon any of the departments of the government, and restores the system to its pristine health and beauty. But the reign of an intolerant spirit of party among a free people seldom fails to result in a dangerous accession to the executive power introduced and established amid unusual professions of devotion to democracy.



The foregoing remarks relate almost exclusively to matters connected with our domestic concerns. It may be proper, however, that I should give some indications to my fellow-citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them, therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation; and that, although, of course not well informed as to the state of any pending negotiations with any of them, I see in the personal characters of the sovereigns, as well as in the mutual interest of our own and of the governments with which our relations are most intimate, a pleasing guarantee that the harmony so important to the interests of their subjects, as well as our citizens, will not be interrupted by the advancement of any claim or pretension upon their part to which our honor would not permit us to yield. Long the defender of my country's rights in the field, I trust that my fellow-citizens will not see in my earnest desire to preserve peace with foreign powers any indication that their rights will ever be sacrificed, or the honor of the Nation tarnished, by any admission on the part of their Chief Magistrate unworthy of their former glory.

In our intercourse with our aboriginal neighbors the same liberality and justice which marked the course prescribed to me by two of my illustrious predecessors, when acting under their direction in the discharge of the duties of superintendent and commissioner, shall be strictly observed. I can conceive of no more sublime spectacle—none more likely to propitiate an impartial Creator—than a rigid adherence to the principles of justice on the part of a powerful nation in its transactions with a weaker and uncivilized people, whom circumstances have placed at its disposal.

Before concluding, fellow-citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country. To me it appears perfectly clear that the interest of that country requires that the violence of the spirit by which those parties are at this time governed must be greatly mitigated, if not entirely extinguished, or consequences will ensue which are appalling to be thought of. If parties in a republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep

the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that they become destructive of public virtue, the parents of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty, and, eventually, its inevitable conqueror.

We have examples of republics where the love of country and of liberty at one time were the dominant passions of the whole mass of citizens, and yet, with the continuance of the name and form of free government, not a vestige of these qualities remaining in the bosom of any one of its citizens. It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer that "in the Roman Senate Octavius had a party, and Antony a party, but the commonwealth had none." Yet the Senate continued to meet in the temple of liberty, to talk of the sacredness and beauty of the commonwealth, and gaze at the statues of the elder Brutus and of the Curtii and Decii. And the people assembled in the forum, not as in the days of Camillus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual magistrates, or pass upon the acts of the Senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders of the respective parties their share of the spoils, and to shout for one or the other, as those collected in Gaul, or Egypt, and the Lesser Asia, would furnish the larger dividend. The spirit of liberty had fled, and, avoiding the abodes of civilized man, had sought protection in the wilds of Scythia or Scandinavia; and so, under the operation of the same causes and influences, it will fly from our capitol and our forums. A calamity so awful, not only to our country, but the world, must be deprecated by every patriot, and every tendency to a state of things likely to produce it immediately checked. Such a tendency has existed—does exist.

Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me, that there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views, selfish in its object. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few, even to the destruction of the interest of the whole. The entire remedy is with the people. Something, however, may be effected by the means which they have placed in my hands. It is union that we want—not of a party for the sake of that party; but a union of the whole

country for the sake of the whole country, for the defense of its interests and its honor against foreign aggression—for the defense of those principles for which our ancestors so gloriously contended. As far as it depends upon me, it shall be accomplished. All the influence that I possess shall be exerted to prevent the formation, at least, of an Executive party in the halls of the legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgment and his sense of duty to those from whom he holds his appointment, nor any confidence in advance from the people but that asked for by Mr. Jefferson, “to give firmness and effect to the legal administration of their affairs.”

I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow-citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion, and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility, are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness; and to that good Being who has blessed us by the gifts of civil and religious freedom, who watched over and prospered the labors of our fathers, and has hitherto preserved to us institutions far exceeding in excellence those of any other people, let us unite in fervently commending every interest of our beloved country in all future time.

[Here the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney.]

Fellow-citizens: Being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you. You will bear with you to your homes the remembrance of the pledge I have this day given to discharge all the high duties of my exalted station according to the best of my ability; and I shall enter upon their performance with entire confidence in the support of a just and generous people.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

STARTING OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—SAD END TO A  
GOOD BEGINNING—DEATH IN THE WHITE HOUSE—  
MORAL, RELIGIOUS, MILITARY, AND PUBLIC  
CHARACTER OF GENERAL HARRI-  
SON—HIS PRESIDENCY.

THIS plain and earnest address, tinctured a little with the knight-errant Greek and Latin air which characterized General Harrison, was well received. Its strong promises aroused great expectations. The new President now announced to the Senate his Cabinet as follows: Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee Secretary of War; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Francis Granger, of New York, Postmaster-General; and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky Attorney-General.

This was one of the most able and respectable bodies of men that had ever been called into the Executive Council. All of them were well known to the country, and among all the Whig leaders of the day it would have been difficult to make a better selection, and one better suited to raise further the hopes of the people. The Senate speedily confirmed

the appointments, and the Whig Administration was left to begin its brief career.

The President at once set about carrying out his designs and promises, and the outlook was, indeed, encouraging to the country. The Whig politicians, of course, were anxious for themselves. The way to reform lay through them. Even socially much was expected at the Capital. The Whig women of fashion felt that at last their day had come, that a social revolution was as certain as a political one. And nobody was better pleased with the prospects than General Harrison himself. One said of him: "The President elect is the most extraordinary man I ever saw. He does not seem to realize the vast importance of his elevation. He talks and thinks with as much ease and vivacity as if he were a young man. He is tickled with the Presidency as a young woman is with a new bonnet."

Through the President's advice Mr. Webster at once drew up the following letter, which on the 20th of March was sent to all the heads of Departments:—

"SIR,—The President is of opinion that it is a great abuse to bring the patronage of the General Government into conflict with the freedom of elections; and that this abuse ought to be corrected wherever it may have been permitted to exist, and to be prevented for the future.

"He therefore directs that information be given to all officers and agents in your Department of the public service that partisan interference in popular elections, whether of State officers or officers of this Government, and for whomsoever or against whomsoever it may be exercised, or the payment of any contribution or assessment



on salaries or official compensation for party or election purposes will be regarded by him as cause of removal.

“It is not intended that any officer shall be restrained in the free and proper expression and maintenance of his opinions respecting public men or public measures, or in the exercise, to the fullest degree, of the Constitutional right of suffrage. But persons employed under the Government, and paid for their services out of the public treasury, are not expected to take an active or officious part in attempts to influence the minds or votes of others, such conduct being deemed inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution and the duties of public agents acting under it; and the President is resolved, so far as depends upon him, that, while the exercise of the elective franchise by the people shall be free from undue influences of official station and authority, opinion shall also be free among the officers and agents of the Government.”

It did really look as if a new era was about to begin in the conduct of public affairs, or that an old wise one was about to be revived. But the task was a difficult one, and poor Harrison died before he had time to show how fruitful or otherwise his good intentions would be. Indeed, the hungry Whigs at once began a great struggle for office, in which it seemed not unlikely that the President would be overwhelmed, and on account of which a serious difficulty was not improbable between him and a part of his Cabinet.

On the 17th of March President Harrison issued a brief proclamation calling Congress to meet in extra session on the last day of May following. This step, the proclamation stated, arose from “important and weighty matters, principally growing out of the

condition of the revenue and finances of the country." But the General was not destined to see Congress in session under this call, nor to realize the fulfillment of any of his enthusiastic and honest purposes. On the 25th of March it was discovered that he had taken a cold and was really ill. Still he turned no one away who wanted to see him, and his great frankness and cordiality were especially pleasing to those who sought his presence. He was yet hopeful and busy. On the 26th he wrote his last letter as follows:—

"The bearer hereof, Mr. Thomas Tucker, a veteran seaman, came with me from Carthagena, as the mate of the brig *Montidia*, in the year 1829. In an association of several weeks, I formed a high opinion of his character; so much so, that expressing a desire to leave the sea, I invited him to come to North Bend, and spend the remainder of his days with me.

"Subsequent misfortunes prevented his doing so, as he was desirous to bring some money with him to commence farming operations. His bad fortune still continues, having been several times shipwrecked within a few years. He says that himself and family are now in such a condition that the humblest situation would be acceptable to him. I write this to recommend him to your favorable notice. I am persuaded that no one possesses, in a higher degree, the virtues of fidelity, honesty, and indefatigable industry, and I might add, indomitable bravery, if that was a quality necessary for the kind of employment he seeks."

This singular letter well displays the simple, earnest, and chivalrous nature of its writer. The

President now continually became worse, with indications of pneumonia and other difficulties, and in the afternoon of April 3d a diarrhea set in, which could not be controlled; and at half-past twelve o'clock, on the night of the third day of April, he died in his room at the White House. His last hours and moments were lost in the bewilderment of fever and debility, but his last words spoken to Dr. Worthington, one of his physicians, as if addressed to his successor, contained a sentiment that all good republicans would be glad to see yet put into practice.

The whole country was shocked by this sudden and unlooked-for death of the generous, broad-hearted President, and the Whig party took it as an irreparable calamity, only daring to hope that his end was not its own death-knell. The event was thus announced by Mr. Webster, but signed by all the members of the Cabinet then present:—

“An all-wise Providence having suddenly removed from this life William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, we have thought it our duty, in the recess of Congress, and in the absence of the Vice-President from the seat of Government, to make this afflicting bereavement known to the country by this declaration under our hands. He died at the President's House, in this city, this fourth day of April, Anno Domini 1841, at thirty minutes before one o'clock in the morning.

“The people of the United States overwhelmed, like ourselves, by an event so unexpected and so melancholy, will derive consolation from knowing that his death was calm and resigned as his life had been patriotic, useful,

and distinguished; and that the last utterance from his lips expressed a fervent desire for the perpetuity of the Constitution and the preservation of its true principles. In death, as in life, the happiness of his country was uppermost in his thoughts."

"WASHINGTON, April 4, 1841.

"The circumstances in which we are placed by the death of the President render it indispensable for us, in the recess of Congress and in the absence of the Vice-President, to make arrangements for the funeral solemnities. Having consulted with the family and personal friends of the deceased, we have concluded that the funeral be solemnized on Wednesday, the 7th instant, at twelve o'clock; the religious services to be performed according to the usages of the Episcopal Church, in which church the deceased usually worshiped. The body is to be taken from the President's House to the Congress Burying-ground, accompanied by a military and civic procession, and deposited in the receiving tomb.

"The military arrangements to be under the direction of Major-General Macomb, the General, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, and Major-General Walter Jones, of the militia of the District of Columbia; Commodore Morris, the senior captain in the Navy now in the city, to have direction of the naval arrangements.

"The marshal of the District to have the direction of the civic procession, assisted by the mayors of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, the Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, and such other citizens as they may see fit to call to their aid.

"John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, members of Congress now in the city or its neighborhood, all the members of the diplomatic body resident in Washington, all officers of Government, and citizens generally, are invited to attend. And it is respectfully

recommended to the officers of Government that they wear the usual badge of mourning."

This announcement was signed by Daniel Webster, Thomas Ewing, John Bell, John J. Crittenden, and Francis Granger.

On the 7th of March John Quincy Adams made this record in his diary:—

"FUNERAL OF W. H. HARRISON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

"This ceremony was performed in a decent and unostentatious manner, with proper religious solemnity, and with the simplicity congenial to our republican institutions. A quarter before twelve, noon, I attended at the President's house, where, in the center of the East Room, the coffin, covered with a black velvet pall, was placed on a plain table, by the side and crosswise of which was another, at which the Rev. Mr. Hawley, rector of St. John's Church, read the Episcopal funeral service, with a very brief additional statement of two facts. The first, that the day after General Harrison entered the President's house, he walked out into the city and purchased a Bible and a Prayer-book, both of which were on the table, and were exhibited to the assembled auditory by the officiating divine, who said that it had been the daily practice of the late President to commence the day by reading in that Bible. The other fact was, that he had expressed his regret at not having joined in full communion with the Church, and that it was his intention to have done so on the ensuing Easter-day, next Sunday."

The procession to the Congressional Cemetery consisted of the mayors of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; physicians and clergy; a hearse drawn by six white horses, having twenty-six pallbearers wearing white scarfs, one to represent each



State; the relatives of the deceased; President Tyler and the Cabinet; John Quincy Adams, with J. K. Paulding, John Forsyth, Joel R. Poinsett, and W. G. Gilpin, of the former Administration; Judges of the Courts, Senators, Foreign Ministers; members of the House, Governors of States and Territories, with a military escort preceding, and a vast concourse of other people following. The circumstances attending the whole affair were sad and wonderful. No President had before fallen at his post.

Of the death of General Harrison Amos Kendall wrote:—

“What high anticipations are in a moment blasted! They have not enjoyed the elevation of their place long enough to find out how vain and hollow and delusive are the promises of happiness with which high station dazzles poor mortals. The rainbow of hope is made to vanish before they know how unsubstantial are its brilliant colors; and this it is, added to the pang which attends the severance of domestic ties, which makes them objects deserving universal commiseration. Upon our country the effect of this dispensation can not be at once perceived. Would to God the surviving leaders of the Whig party would mark the last words of their dying chief, and let them sink deep into their hearts! As if half chiding an erring friend, perhaps with the dim and delirious recollection of some real scene which had passed in his Cabinet, he said: ‘Sir, I wish you to understand the true principles of the Government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more.’

“If his successor, throwing aside every other consideration, will obey this dying injunction, and carry out the ‘true principles of the Government,’ our country, though she may mourn the loss of an honored son, may realize

in the change more than she had a right to expect from his hands."

On the 26th of June, 1841, the remains of General Harrison were taken from this temporary resting-place, and started, in the care of a committee of members of Congress, and another committee sent on from Cincinnati, to the old home at North Bend. President Tyler, his Cabinet, and hundreds of others assembled at the railway station to witness this last act in the unusual spectacle. The feeling throughout the country had been intense, and in most of the large cities funeral orations were made, and other demonstrations of interest were exhibited in the Nation's loss. And President Tyler felt himself called upon to appoint May 14, 1841, as a day of fasting and prayer. The Rev. J. P. K. Henshaw said, in an extravagant eulogy or funeral sermon, at Baltimore, in April, 1841, on President Harrison: "The late General Harrison was not only a firm believer in the truth of our holy religion, but submitted to its restraining power, and had a tender sensibility of heart to its hallowing influence."

The first Episcopal Church in the Ohio Valley was established at Cincinnati, and this Harrison assisted in organizing. He was a regular attendant at that Church, and contributed to its support. After he became President more especially did he appear inclined to square his life upon Christian principles, although he had always been a man of exemplary habits. Ministers of the Gospel who knew him were especially delighted with his

election to the Presidency. He told Mr. Henshaw that the Bishop of Ohio had written him touching his Christian conduct during his Presidency, and that he designed faithfully carrying out the advice.

On the day after President Harrison's inauguration he bought a Bible for the White House. Of this act he is represented as having said: "I intend to buy, out of the Congressional appropriation, the best copy I can find, and write in it, 'To the President of the United States from the people of the United States;'" which, unfortunately, was not strictly true, although it was paid for out of the people's money.

Notwithstanding his preference for the Episcopal Church, his friendly relations with its people and clergy, his regular attendance at its services, and his aid in its support, General Harrison never became a member and "communicant" of that or any other church. It is said that, in his last days and hours, like many others have done, he regretted his failure to take this step. He was inclined to be a strict observer of the Sabbath, and especially in the latter part of his life kept this day scrupulously and the little time he was in the White House he avoided receiving company on the Sabbath. During the campaign of 1836, he entered Cincinnati on Sunday amidst a boom of cannons, and was charged by one of the newspapers of Sabbath-breaking and other bad practices. But this assault so touched his feelings and principles that he made a public statement

to the effect that the noise was beyond his control, and wholly without his desire, as everybody knew, and acknowledged his devotion to the institution of the Sabbath.

Of General Harrison's conduct of Presidential affairs little need or can be said. His Cabinet was notably strong, and the prospects of the new Administration were exceedingly favorable. Perhaps no beginning had been more auspicious. But in a brief month the glowing political sky was overcast with dubious clouds, which the most vigorous faith could not dispel. The common opinion of Harrison's popularity during the campaign which resulted in his election was not probably very well founded. He was certainly not widely known save through the battles of the Tippecanoe and the Thames, and it had been over quarter of a century since the people had heard much of him. He had never been distinguished among the champions of political principles; his voice had not been heard in the discussion of great public questions, and perhaps few persons knew that forty years before he was one of the only four men at Cincinnati who gave their support to Thomas Jefferson instead of John Adams. Still there were several elements of popular enthusiasm in the life and character of General Harrison, and these the Democrats, unfortunately for themselves, aided in developing. They said hard things about the plain old farmer, and at once "the people" pronounced him their true friend. In attacking his military career they actually furnished

their opponents effective campaign instruments which they had not themselves discovered.

President Harrison treated the matter of office-seeking with considerable indifference, although it was at that time, and has since been, often stated that his death was caused by the tide of office-hunters. This was more a party or popular fancy than a sustainable fact. He had from the first been in the habit of filing away applications for office with the remark that they should be considered last. No, the causes of his death were purely physical, although the excited condition of his mind may have aggravated the difficulties. Harrison was well advanced in years. His life at North Bend had for a long time been quiet, and his habits of body regular and exact. It had been charged that he was an old man, unfit for the office by his feeble body and habits. He was anxious to show by his conduct that he was yet full of vigor, and able to do the work the people had given him. After starting from Ohio, on his way to Washington, the change of life began to leave its impression; all his habits and practices were necessarily different and unfavorable; his long inaugural address, spoken from the steps of the Capitol, in a cold March day, without overcoat or hat, when people warmly wrapped were suffering from cold around him, and his subsequent exposures and changed circumstances of eating and sleeping led to his illness and death.

Although the country had good reason to expect some reforms in the administration of the Govern-



ment under President Harrison, and at least that he would not be the easy prey of hungry office-seekers; and although his circular, issued to the heads of Departments sixteen days after his inauguration, sustained this expectation, the general appearance after all was that his own good resolutions and promises, and the high expectations of the country, would have been doomed to some disappointment. For twelve years the principle had been in practice which demonstrated too unmistakably the royal way to the continuation of party power for the Whigs not to avail themselves of its benefits. No party could exist without supporters; and it had long been apparent that personal interest was an incentive to party support far beyond the reach of argument among political managers and their retainers.

No little affair had so much significance in this short Administration, and is even yet so much deplored, as the movement made before Mr. Clay left Washington, after the short executive session of the Senate, to destroy his friendly relations with the President. Harrison himself wrote a letter to Clay, advising him to communicate his desires in writing, instead of visiting the White House often, in order to keep down gossip and jealousy. Mr. Clay had predicted as much, and had plainly mentioned it to the President. Now he felt that he was actually shut out of the White House. This political Hercules, as generous as he was massive and grand in his powers, was deeply wounded; but soon afterwards leaving for his Kentucky home, never saw

Président Harrison again. It is useless to speculate on the outcome of this unfortunate beginning. At all events, death closed forever the doubtful drama.

Harrison's military career did not vindicate the claim to great generalship, as held by his supporters in the political campaigns of 1836 and 1840. But the effort of his opponents to take from him the distinction he really earned on the Wabash, the Maumee, and the Thames, was one of the contemptible tricks common to heated and unjust political contests. His campaigns virtually ending at the Thames, were of immense consequence to the country. The Indians on the northwest were, in the main, removed from the conflict and peace restored on that border. More than Hull had lost, Harrison, after a costly struggle, regained, and for the rest of the war this territory was left in comparative quiet.

Amidst the multiform opinions as to Hull's conduct, it is difficult to reach an unimpeachable conclusion. If the leading officers and most of the soldiers of the army, perhaps the most reliable source of information, be relied upon, the verdict would be easy enough. And, after examining all the attainable evidence in the case, I am strongly inclined to the conviction that strained mercy only, not vindication, can justly be assumed as a cover for this evil spot in the history of a trying period in the Nation's career. It has been claimed that age had only sapped Hull's courage, his spirit, and that this misfortune was in no degree darkened by sentiments of treason or lack of the true patriotic fire which

had distinguished him at Stony Point. A fair and reasonable view, perhaps. But however all this may have been, or whatever charitable or severe, exaggerated or truthful construction may be placed upon General Hull's course as commander of the North-western army, one thing remains, that is, the great evil which followed as a natural consequence. Under as able and energetic a leader as Harrison, or even other younger men little known in military affairs, such an army could have taken possession of all Upper Canada at least, overawed the Indians, prevented Dearborn's unwise armistice, and a whole chain of unfortunate events in the West.

Notwithstanding the general results of Harrison's military career, during his race for the Presidency, in 1840, his political foes charged him with everything they deemed mean and unsatisfactory, except stealing, and enriching himself at the public expense while holding important positions. But the supporters of General Harrison laid themselves liable in several weak and provoking ways, and in none more, perhaps, than in their attempts to prove that he was a great general and a great statesman.

One of the main elements in the Presidential canvass was the absence of wide-spread and certain knowledge of General Harrison's political opinions. He had written two letters of a highly colored, declamatory character, and to these he referred all applicants for information. But these letters were ambiguous, and from them all grades of enthusiasm could be drawn. They meant everything admirable

to those who desired, and often nothing to others. To the Whigs they meant one thing indisputably, and that was reform. Reform was one magic word in the campaign, and Harrison was its synonym. Whatever this word meant it had a powerful influence, and however little those who used it most would have been willing to submit to a thorough application of it to public affairs, the case remained the same. It chimed wonderfully with the popular sentiment for a change, and to a great extent never could have signified much more than a new deal in the mediums and channels of public patronage. But the demand for a change was earnest, and from it every benefit both to party and country was expected to result. The general character of the candidate gave strength to the gravity and sincerity of this outcry for reformation, and his early public services certainly took nothing from a fair presumption. His civil career as Governor of Indiana was highly respectable, and his military record farther illustrated his executive abilities. One of the strangest charges made against him was that he was an Abolitionist, a thing even yet looked upon as criminal. And this charge had no little weight against him at the South. His course while Governor of Indiana, as has been shown, sufficiently contradicted this charge, and nothing in his subsequent conduct in any way confirmed it. From his father, and George Washington, George Mason, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, Jefferson, Madison, and other early Virginia patriots he held slavery as the great evil

of our Government; but like most of those who had gone before him in the same faith, saw no way better than to temporize with it, in the hope that the too abstruse problem would be solved in the peaceful developments of the future.

He was now an unpretentious, quiet farmer; without the assumption of statesmanship, and without great party prejudices, if so mean a word could at all be applied to him. Although he had done nothing to give him the distinction of a statesman, not even of a politician, yet time and a quiet life had not dimmed his ambition. He was inspired by the general hope and belief that through him some evils might be arrested, and the condition of the country greatly benefited. His inaugural address, and every step in his conduct through the one short month, to the end, show how earnest he was in this conviction, and how clear was his disposition to render the great pretension of reform a fact beneficial to the country in his administration of public affairs. There is no evidence, however, that he died in the unshaken conviction of his ability to carry out his good intentions. The evil principle, "to the victor belong the spoils," had been twelve years in vogue, too long for the Whigs not to be largely under its control, however little they had suspected it. This species of corruption had become generally deep rooted, and it soon became apparent that the torrent of hungry Whig office-seekers toward the White House was destined to be irresistible. The struggle with the excited, overworked Executive



was of short duration, and was the last of its kind ever attempted in the history of the country, notwithstanding the many more or less deceptive cries of civil-service reform in after times.

General Harrison did not, perhaps, lose sight of the question of availability which had secured his nomination at Harrisburg over Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, and of the power of the latter especially, he felt shy. Mr. Clay made no recommendations to the President for appointments, and soon had sad occasion to feel that his influence in the new Administration he had so generously helped to inaugurate, would be quite limited. He also saw that nothing could stay or uproot the furious passion on all hands for the "public spoils." Even John Quincy Adams said that removals from office went swimmingly on under the new order of things, and while he recognized that he had no influence at the President's, he consoled himself with the belief that not even the hand of an angel could arrest the onward flow of the demoralizing and infamous principle instituted by his own successor in the Presidency.

But before it could certainly be seen what would be the real outcome of the change to a wholly new order of administration, poor Harrison, borne down by the burden he was not able to sustain, lay down to die, to the last in his feverish dreams exhorting his successor to ennoble the Presidential office and bless the country by carrying out the principles he had in contemplation for the government of his own conduct had he been spared.

His death was looked upon as a calamity; but an importance was attached to the event which belonged to it more than to the man. Nothing of the kind had ever happened before, and a feature of the Constitution upon which little stress had been placed was now, for the first time, to be tried. The Vice-President was to become in fact the President, and for such an unexpected turn the Whig party had not provided to its own satisfaction. This surrounded the case with greater gloom and uncertainty. Everything had been expected of General Harrison, and now the question was, What will Mr. Tyler do? He had been employed to represent the weaker faction in the combination to break down the Jacksonian establishment, and his claim to be a Whig rested on no stronger ground than the mere fact of his belonging to the opposition. Knowing well that this was the case the Whig leaders had every reason for anxiety, and the Democrats, considering the course Mr. Tyler had taken for a number of years, were equally in doubt as to the final outcome. Both parties hoped for the best in the extraordinary event, and both were in the end disappointed. Those who expected nothing from the spoils of office looked with deep anxiety for the outworkings of a Constitutional provision which had fortunately been hitherto without illustration. So the peculiar national circumstances served greatly to heighten the general sentiments of sorrow over the sad, brief career of the new President, through whom so many good things were to be done.

No shadow like this had ever before fallen upon the White Mansion. All the memories of the recent, wild, and never-to-be-repeated log-cabin campaign gathered around the strange scene, and the Nation sincerely mourned for the fallen Hero, Old Tippecanoe.

General Harrison was six feet in height, slender and erect, with an elastic step and penetrating eye. His forehead was high and his countenance open and genial. His attainments were not great, nor was his mind of an extraordinary cast and strength. He was a good writer, and an attractive speaker; a plain, benevolent, upright, and admirable man. Mrs. Jane Harrison, widow of William H. Harrison, Jr., acted as Mistress of the White House during this short Administration, and she and her two sons attended the funeral. Several of the nephews and more distant relatives were also present, but neither the General's wife nor any of his children reached Washington. Of the four boys and four girls in the General's family none are now living. John Scott Harrison, the last of these children and a man of some consequence, died at North Bend, the old home of the family, fifteen miles below Cincinnati on the Ohio River, in 1878.

# INDEX.

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## A

- ADAMS, PRESIDENT JOHN**—his appointments of General Harrison, 95, 104—his rule of appointments, 98, 99.
- Adams, President J. Q.**—his views of Harrison's early life, inauguration, and death, 379, 380, 446, 475—on spoils hunting, 486.
- Armstrong, General John**—in Hull's case, 239—his dealings with General Harrison, 292, 338, 339, 345, 350.

## B

- BATTLES**—St. Clair's Defeat, 30, 67, 68—Great Kanawha, 49—Lower Blue Licks, 58—Fort Recovery, 75—Fallen Timbers, 80, 81—Tippecanoe, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197—River Raisin, 269, 270—Dudley's Defeat, 287, 288—Fort Stephenson, 301, 302, 304—Lake Erie, 309, 310—River Thames, 318, 319, 329, 330.
- Boyd, General John P.**—his nativity and experiences, 183, 211—his honorable character, 210, 211.
- Burnet, Judge Jacob**—in Congress, his statement as to Harrison's political preferences, 96.

## C

- CABINET**—Harrison's, 441, 469, 471—announces the President's death, 473, 474.

- Cass, General Lewis**—thanks Beaver for saving Harrison's life, 296.
- Cincinnati**—its location and early importance, 29, 30, 42, 70.
- Clark, George Rogers**—captures Governor Hamilton and secures the Wabash country, 40, 51, 56, 57—his Indian speech, and subsequent acts, 53, 58, 59, 73.
- Clay, General Green**—at Fort Meigs, 284, 285, 287, 288, 298—sketch of, 290, 291.
- Clay, Henry**—a name for, 264—candidate for President, 417, 418—a campaign speaker, 419, 421—offered a place in the Cabinet, 441—relations to Harrison, 481, 486.
- Convention, Presidential**—in 1835, 388, 389, 390—in 1838 and 1839, 407, 415, 416.
- Cresap, Michael**—murders the Indians, 48, 49.
- Croghan, George**—at Sandusky, 299, 300, 301, 302—promoted and honored, 303.

## D

- DAVIESS, JOSEPH H.**—wants to fight the Indians, 185—at Tippecanoe, 189, 191.
- Dudley, Colonel Wm.**—defeated and killed at Fort Meigs, 287, 288—opinion concerning, 289, 290.

Dunmore, Governor—favors the colonists, his operations against the Indians, 38, 39, 50.

## E

EDWARDS, GOVERNOR N.—views and operations against the Indians, 201, 258.

Election, Presidential—in 1836, 388, 390, 402, 403—in 1840, 418-443.

England—her claims, 33-38—her attempts on the Wabash, 39, 40—charges against her people, 75, 76, 77, 111, 118, 123, 125, 175—surrenders the forts, 93—her troops in Ohio, 284, 298, 300—her fleet on Lake Erie, 309, 309, 310, 311—her army whipped, 318.

## G

GALLATIN, ALBERT—his aid in the land legislation, 100, 101, 103.

Girty, Simon—leads the Indians, 58—his character, 66.

Granger, Francis—candidate and defeated for the Vice-Presidency, 390, 404.

Greathouse, Daniel—murders the Indians, 49.

Greeley, Horace—in the first Whig Convention, 417—his "Log Cabin," his campaign songs, 420, 421.

## H

HAMILTON, HENRY—takes Vincennes, 39, 56—captured by the Americans, 40, 56.

Harmar, General Josiah—his Indian operations, 30, 60, 62, 63, 64, 71—stops land stealing, 40—at Marietta and Cincinnati, 41, 60, 62.

Harrisons, The—of Virginia, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24.

Harrison, Thomas—progenitor of the Virginia family, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

Harrison, Benjamin—a lawyer of Charles City County, 10, 11.

Harrison, Benjamin—son of the former Benjamin, his death, his children, 11.

Harrison, Benjamin, The Signer—son of the last named Benjamin and father of the President, his birth, education, 12—his public services, his character, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19—his children, 18, 19, 24—his death, 16, 19.

Harrison, Jane—Mistress of the White House, 488.

Harrison, William Henry (President)—his birth, education, 25, 26, 27—abandons the study of medicine, 28, 29—in the West, 29, 31—his employments, 31, 32, 70, 71—aid to General Wayne, 74, 87—in command at Cincinnati, 94—marriage, becomes Secretary of the North-western Territory, acts as governor, first Representative in Congress, 95, 96, 117—his character 9, 27, 99, 110, 146, 154, 219, 244, 255, 264, 337, 355, 361, 363, 364, 381, 383, 480 to 488—first services in Congress, 99-104—becomes Governor of Indiana, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 104, 105, 106—his course as Governor, 106-122, 130, 131, 140, 141, 145, 148, 149, 157, 159, 173, 178, 202, 203, 210, 217, 218, 219, 227, 266, 267—his course and views on slavery, 107, 108, 373, 374, 384—appointed Indian Commissioner, 109—



speech to the Indians, efforts for them, 111, 112, 117, 120, 127, 129, 130, 131, 141, 182, 191—his anti-whisky proclamation, 120—treats with the Indians, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131—has charge of the upper part of Louisiana, 130—his Indian speeches, 138, 142, 162, 175—his speech to the Legislature, 149, 154—his Greek and Latin, 26, 154, 368, 405—his movements against the Indians, 154, 155, 157, 173, 175, 181, 182, 183—communicates his plans to the War Department, 156, 219, 226—his meetings with Tecumseh, 163, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 178, 179—sues for slander, 146, 175—prepares to move against the Prophet, 182, 183, 187, 189—builds Fort Harrison, 190—reaches the Prophet's Town and fights the battle of Tippecanoe, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195—leads his army back to Vincennes, 196—his conduct at Tippecanoe, 198 to 209—goes to Kentucky after soldiers, 219, 221, 224—his military record, 217 to 364—becomes a major-general of Kentucky militia, 222, 224, 244—declines to serve under Winchester, 245, 247, 248—takes command of the army at Defiance, 255—ridiculously called "Washington of the West," 264—meets the Indiana Legislature for the last time, 266, 267—his part in the battle at the River Raisin, 268, 278, 279—meets the friendly Indians, 294—his life saved by an Indian, 296—his hand in the defense of Fort Stephenson, 304, 305—lands in Canada,

316—his proclamation, 317—at the River Thames, 318, 319, 320, 329—his honors, 330, 343, 344, 351, 354, 362, 364—in command at Fort George, 338—relieved and sent home, 339, 341, 343, 344—resigns, 347, 348—his difficulties with Winchester, 359—362—elected to Congress, his services at this time, 366, 367, 368—in the State Senate, 369, 370, 371—defeated for Congress, 373—his political principles, 374-380, 384, 388, 389, 391, 392, 407, 408, 410, 412—in the Senate of the United States, 376, 377—Minister to South America, 380, 381—his employments, 382, 383, 384—named for Vice-President, 388—nominated for the Presidency, defeated in 1836, 388, 389, 390, 402, 403—his address on the aborigines, 405—nominated for the Presidency, his election, 407, 415, 416, 441, 442, 443—his inaugural, 447, 469—his Cabinet selected, 469—his Presidency and public services, 470-488—his death, 473, 474, 477—opinions of, 473, 474, 475—his size and appearance, his family, 488.

Hopkins, General Samuel—leads an expedition against the Indians, 253, 258—burns the Prophet's Town, 258.

Hull, General William—his prospects and surrender, 221, 228, 237, 238—his campaign and trial, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242—sketch of, 229 to 242—opinions of his case, 239, 240, 241, 482, 483.

## I

**INDIANA**—organized, its first capital, first governor, 104 — its first Supreme Court, 105, 106—slavery in, 107, 108—its first Legislature and first code of laws, 131, 132, 144, 148 — its Legislature in 1809, 148, 149—its Indian troubles, 157, 158, 163, 168, 175, 180, 181—its Legislature on the Battle of Tippecanoe, 203, 204, 210—its Legislature in 1811, its new governor, 266, 267.

**Indians**—defeat Harmar and St. Clair, 30 — take the French side, 34, 35, 46, 47, 50 — their land possessions, 43, 44 — their slowness in embracing sectarian Christianity, 47—treaties with, 50, 51, 52, 61, 70, 71, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 131, 134 — murdered, 48, 49, 57, 58 — defeat the Kentuckians, 58 — contend for the Ohio River as a boundary, 72—attack Fort Recovery, 75—character of their women, 78, 79, 80—defeated by Wayne, 80, 81—sue for peace, 87—their speeches, 88, 89, 91, 118, 137—sign the treaty at Greenville, 92, 93—meet Harrison, 111, 116, 368—their appeals and efforts against whisky, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124 — their compensation for murder, 130 — defeated at Tippecanoe, 194, 196 — join the British, 214 — some of them take the American side, 294, 295, 296, 297.

## J

**JACKET, BLUE**—commands the Indians at the Fallen Timbers,

80 — his speech to General Wayne, 88.

**Jackson, General**—appointed a major-general, 350—recalls General Harrison from Bogota, 380, 381—leads his party, 388.

**Jay, John**—his Mississippi River treaty raises a storm, 59, 60.

**Jefferson, President**—his appointments of General Harrison, 109, 130 — his rule for appointing legislators for Indiana, 131.

**Johnson, Colonel R. M.**—in command of a regiment, 298 — in Canada, 318 — his part in the Battle of the Thames, 318, 322, 324, 327, 328—candidate for the Vice-Presidency, 391—elected, 404—again a candidate, 415.

## K

**KENTUCKY**—her citizens defeated by the Indians, 56, 58—sends a force against the Indians, 65, 183, 184, 185, 189 — favors the projects of Genet, 73 — sends troops to Wayne, 74, 77—action of her Legislature as to Tippecanoe, 203 — sends troops to Ohio, 258, 284, 285.

## L

**LETTERS** — Wm. Campbell's, to General Wayne, 85 — General Harrison's, to his constituents, 101; to Secretary of War, 129, 160, 182, 218, 225, 226, 256, 261, 265, 316, 318, 319, 346; to Governor Scott, 250; to Governor Meigs, 273; to General McClure, 340, 341; to President Madison, 348; to A. B. Howell, 405; to Harmar Denny, 408; to John Dillon, 410; to Mr. Milder,

412 — General McClure's, to Harrison, 339, 343—Commodore Perry's, to Secretary of War, 311; to Harrison, 311, 353; to Secretary of Navy, 315—John H. Piatt's, to Gales and Seaton, 358—Secretary of War to Harrison, 133, 218, 248, 263, 347—Governor Scott's, to Harrison, 203—Governor Shelby's, to the President, 348; to General Harrison, 351—Little Turtle's, to Harrison, 211—C. S. Todd's, to Moses Dawson, 357—General Wayne's, to Campbell, 86—General Wichester's, to Harrison, 229.

Logan—leads the Indians on the Kanawha, 49.

Logan, James — friend of the Americans, 295, 296 — derivation of his name, his exploits, 296, 297.

## M

MADISON, PRESIDENT — appointments of Harrison, 145, 156—pardons Hull, 239.

Meigs, R. J.—gathers troops for the relief of Hull, 221—the fort named after him, 280—at the head of an army, 291.

McAfee, R. B. — quotation from, 222, 223.

McArthur, Duncan—restores Detroit, 317—his opinions of Harrison, 345—succeeds Harrison, 350—treats with the Indians, 368.

McKee, Alexander—urges on the Indians in their hostility to this country, 72, 111, 139—supports whisky-drinking among the Indians, 123, 124.

## O

OLLIWACHICA (The Prophet)—his character, 134, 135, 136, 144, 157, 202—his purposes and work, 135, 136, 139, 157, 158, 161—replies to Harrison, visits Vincennes, 143, 144—sends a lying message to Harrison, 186—his conduct at Tippecanoe, 202—returns to his town, 220—his town destroyed, 258.

Ordinance of 1787 — prohibits slavery in the North-Western Territory, 107—term of governorship under, 144.

## P

PERRY, CAPTAIN O. P.—builds a fleet, 291, 308—seeks the enemy, his great victory, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312—reconnoiters the Canada shore, 316—acts as aid to Harrison, 325—his honors, 330—joins Harrison in a proclamation, 335—seeks new adventures, 336—his opinion of Harrison, 345.

Pickaway (Allen O. Myers)—gives a sketch of the Harrisons, 20, 21, 22, 24.

Pontiac—his nationality, his war, 48.

Popularity—who have it, what it is, 17, 18.

Posey, Thomas—Governor of Indiana, 266, 267.

Proctor, General Henry—in command at the Raisin, 270, 271—at Fort Meigs, 284, 288, 298, 306—defeated at Sandusky, 301, 302—defeated on the Thames, 318, 329—his conduct and character, 333, 334.

## S

SCOTT, GOVERNOR CHARLES—leads an expedition against the Indians, 65—joins Wayne at Greenville, 74, 77—at the battle of the Fallen Timbers, 80, 82—calls on Kentucky to send men to Hull, 221—commissions General Harrison, 224—his death, 228.

Scott, Dr. John M.—Colonel of the First Kentucky Regiment, his character, 243—his relations to General Harrison, 244.

Shakers—their early settlement on the Wabash, their belief in the mission of the Prophet, 161—their troublesome interference, 161, 162.

Shelby, Governor Isaac—his interest in General Harrison, 248—leads the Kentuckians into Canada, 318, 322—in the battle on the Thames, 323, 328—in command of the army, 336—honored by Congress, 364.

Slavery—in Louisiana, in the North-Western Territory, in Indiana, 107—rejected in Ohio, 107.

Spain—her American territorial claims, 33, 34, 40, 59—warlike opposition to her Mississippi River pretensions, 59, 60.

Speeches, Indian—Little Turtle's, at Greenville, 43—Blue Jacket's, 88—the Chippewa's, 89, 91—the Shawnee's, 137—Tecumseh's 164, 167, 331.

St. Clair, Arthur—appointed to command the army operating against the Indians, defeated, 30, 31, 65, 67, 68, 69—becomes Governor of the North-Western Territory, 30, 31, 32, 33, 42—lays

out Hamilton County, 42—treats with the Indians, 60, 61—review of his unfortunate expedition against the Indians, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69—sketch of, 97, 98.

Symmes, John Cleves—gives his daughter to Harrison, 29—purchases a large tract of land on the Ohio, 41, 42.

## T

TAYLOR, ZACHARY—defends Fort Harrison, 221.

Tecumseh—his first appearance, his character, his purposes, 134, 135, 136, 139, 168, 215, 216, 217—he meets Harrison, 163, 178, 179—his speeches, 164, 167, 331—his views of a President's life, 72—his Southern tour, 177, 179, 180—joins the British, 220—at Fort Meigs, 287, 288—at the Thames, 329—his death, 333, 334.

Territory, North-Western—its men, 9—its settlement, 29 to 105—its organization, boundaries, first governor, 32, 33, 34, 42—its laws and courts, 72, 73—its first Representative in Congress, its first Legislature, 95, 96.

Tippecanoe, Hero of, Old—names for General Harrison, 9, 209.

Tupper, General E. W.—leads a force for the relief of Hull, 221—quarrels with Winchester, 256, 257—sent against the British, 258.

Turtle, Little—his speech, 43—favors peace, 80, 121—his friendship for the whites, 131—writes to Harrison, 211—his death, 213.

Tyler, John, Sen.—defeats Benjamin Harrison, 14.

Tyler, John—nominated for the Vice-Presidency, 390, 417—in the Log-Cabin campaign, 421—becomes President, 477, 487.

## W

WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT — appoints a commander for the army in the West, 30 — appoints General Wayne to command in Ohio, 71.

Washington, Fort—its location, 29, 42, 70—character of its garrison, its social influence, 70.

Wayne, General Anthony—receives the views of Little Turtle, 43—gathering an army on the Ohio, 73—moves from Cincinnati, in winter quarters at Greenville, 74—builds Fort Recovery, fiercely assailed by the Indians, 75—moves against the Indians, 77—builds Fort Defiance, sends a talk to the Indians, 78, 79—defeats the Indians, 79, 80, 81, 82—his sharp correspondence with the British officer, 85, 86—concludes a treaty, its character, 92, 93—his death, 94.

Webster, Daniel—candidate for the Presidency, 388, 403—nominated for the Vice-Presidency, 407—becomes a campaign speaker, 419, 421—becomes Secretary of State, 469—his Cabinet circular, 470.

Whigs—in 1836, 388, 389, 390, 402, 403—hold a preliminary con-

vention in 1838, 415—their first national convention in 1839, 415, 416, 417—their wonderful campaign, 418, 443—their expectations and disappointments, 470, 473, 484, 485, 486, 487.

Whisky—the enemy of the Indian and the white man, 119—Harrison's efforts against, 122—the Indian crusade on, 122, 124.

White, H. L.—gains the title of "Cato," 264—candidate for the Presidency, 388, 403.

Wilkinson, General James — opposes the Jay Treaty as to the Mississippi River, 60—makes a successful expedition against the Indians, 65—in command at Cincinnati, 70, 71—second in command at the battle of the Fallen Timbers, 87.

Winchester, General James—delivers the army to General Harrison, 224—again takes command, 229, 244—his standing in the army, 245—his order in giving up the command, 253—concludes to serve under Harrison, 254—his difficulty with General Tupper, 256—marches to the rescue of Frenchtown, 268—his operations, and the fatal engagement of the River Raisin, 269 to 279, 361—his attack upon Harrison, 359, 360, 361.

Winemack—friend of the Americans, appears at Vincennes, 158—present at the Vincennes-Tecumseh council, his good conduct, 171.



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